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**The Multiple Identities of Creative Labourers
and Negotiated Creative Autonomy**

**: An Empirical Research with
Light-entertainment Television PDs in South Korea**

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) in Creative Industries

Centre for Cultural Policy Studies, University of Warwick

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	iv
Declaration	vi
Abstract.....	vii
Preface: Background to the research	viii
Abbreviations	xiii
Tables and Figures	xiv
CH 1. Introduction	1
1.1. Research themes	1
1.2. Research questions.....	2
1.3. Definitions and the scope of the study.....	5
1.4. Structure of the thesis.....	7
Part I. Theoretical and Historical Background	12
CH 2. Establishing an Analytical Framework of Creative Autonomy	13
2.1. Defining creativity and autonomy through the eyes of creative labourers.....	14
2.2. Previous discourses on creative autonomy	19
2.3. Shaping the concept of the multiple identities of creative labourers.....	28
2.4. The process through which the multiple identities of PDs are constructed.....	35
2.5. Proposing a new conceptual framework of creative autonomy.....	49

CH 3. An Overview of the Korean Entertainment Television Industry.....	53
3.1. The historical background of the Korean television industry	53
3.2. The entertainment genre in the Korean television industry	62
3.3. The structure of the television production industry and the PD labour market.	75
3.4. Concluding remarks	93
CH 4. Research Design and Methodology	96
4.1. Research Design: qualitative research and thematic analysis	96
4.2. Conducting the research	100
4.3. The size and representativeness of the sample	106
4.4. Concluding remarks	108
Part II. Empirical Study	109
CH 5. The Multiple Identities of PDs and Negotiated Creative Autonomy	110
5.1. Viewership ratings	110
5.2. The process of professionalisation	138
5.3. The importance of deriving ‘enjoyment’ from work.....	168
5.4. Discussion.....	193
CH 6. Further Discussion:	216
6.1. PDs as creative professionals	218
6.2. The characteristics of creative professionals.....	220
6.3. The importance of the professionalised creative workforce within organisations	222
6.4. Possible concerns about the status of the creative professional	225
6.5. Suggesting a proper concept of organisational management for creative professionals	227

CH 7. Conclusion.....	229
7.1. Key findings and arguments.....	229
7.2. The role of individual creative workers in the cultural/creative industries	233
7.3. Suggestions for further research	236
 Appendix 1: Interviewee list	238
Appendix 2: The fixed questionnaire for interviews	239
Appendix 3: A sample interview script.....	245
Appendix 4: Typical responsibilities of a Main PD in the entertainment genre	263
Bibliography	268

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of my original work and includes nothing which is the outcome of collaborative work. I have followed the Guide to Examinations for Higher Degrees by Research, established by the Graduate School at the University of Warwick. I confirm that no part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree at another university.

Chairin An

Abstract

The research presented here examines a new definitional framework of creative autonomy that was designed with regard to the negotiated nature of creative autonomy and its relationship to the multiple identities of creative labourers.

Having identified several limitations in the existing literature on creative autonomy, I argue that there is a need to observe creative labourers through a more appropriate lens—one which understands the paradoxes and dilemmas that today's creative labourers experience in an undeniably commercial working environment. I suggest that such paradoxes and dilemmas, and the balance that needs to be attained, can be better understood if we consider the concept of the multiple identities of creative workers. Based upon this, I propose a new framework of creative autonomy, which seeks to appropriately reflect the distinctive attitudes of creative workers by taking into account the many concurrent desires manifest in the workplace. To empirically examine the new framework of creative autonomy and the concept of the multiplicities of creative labourers, the case of Main PDs in the South Korean light-entertainment television industry was selected. By observing the lived-experiences of Main PDs, I attempt to reveal the negotiated nature of creative autonomy, which is the foundation of the new framework proposed in this study.

Consequently, the significant industrial value of individual creative labourers who are able to negotiate and balance various intrinsic and extrinsic needs or demands in the creative production process becomes clear, and I then conclude by suggesting a need to establish a new management strategy so that broadcasting organisations are able to retain and manage professionalised PD labourers in the shifting labour market, for the development of not only organisations but also the creative workforce and the industry as a whole.

Preface: Background to the research

This study initially began with my natural curiosity about the ‘seemingly insane’ people around me, who—despite using this expression to describe themselves—continued to maintain their creative career and to find pleasure and happiness in the working process that I myself gave up having spent five years in the creative field¹. Although I had long desired a creative role and had invested considerable time and money into achieving this career, I decided to stop living as a creative worker, primarily due to the workload, which was too intense to endure. It was true that living as a creative worker had many attractions that were not generally experienced by labourers in other fields (for example, meeting celebrities, producing content for large audiences, and attaining public recognition as a creative producer), but such advantages were not enough to convince me to continue my creative career at the cost of giving up other pleasures in my life. Surprisingly however, the majority of my former colleagues continue to maintain their creative careers in the field, and many of them have said that creative work is enjoyable and being a creative producer is the best job for them. Considering the fact that their income levels are not especially favourable as compared to other jobs with similar recruitment conditions but less intense workloads, it seems to me that they must have another compelling reason to stay in the field. What is the reason that my colleagues have continued in their commitment to being a creative worker despite the need to sacrifice so many other aspects of their personal lives? My own inquisitiveness about these questions inspired my inceptive idea for this research: that is, how should we understand the distinctive attitudes of creative labourers towards creative work? And subsequently, how can we value, at the industrial level, the unique characteristics of those who derive enjoyment from creative work and the products they create?

¹ I worked as a television PD from 2004 to 2007, and as a concert producer from 2008 to 2009.

To date, many studies on cultural/creative labour have focused on the quality of the working life or work-life balance of creative labourers and argue that these conditions are tolerated due to captivation with the attractive and glamorous aspects of working in this field. However, the majority of creative workers I have met cite the most significant factor in deciding whether or not to continue their creative career, or to remain in an organisation, as being the level of creative autonomy granted to them in the production process. The majority of interviewees for this study, who were all working in the Korean entertainment television industry as a PD (Producer-Director)², said they were able to adapt themselves to most conditions, but the one thing they found very difficult to tolerate was interference in their own creative design of content production. Many of them said that the primary reason they had endured intense workloads and interventions in the creative process by others was the fact that their creative career allowed them to actualise their own creative ambitions through their work.

Considering that many of the established television PDs who left the most stable and privileged terrestrial broadcaster in Korea strongly argued that the primary reason for leaving the organisation was the low level of creative autonomy (see Chapter 3), it seems that creative autonomy is one of the most significant issues in the longevity of creative careers. In this study, I wanted to closely observe the lived-experiences of creative workers and their response toward the level of creative autonomy they held. This study does not insist that absolute creative autonomy is needed for creative work: inevitably the level of creative autonomy is limited by the given industrial structure as creative workers produce creative products not only for themselves but also for the market, audiences, and organisations. Instead, I understand creative autonomy as a concept that is always subject to negotiation

² The uniqueness of the PD role in the Korean television industry is explained in Chapter 3.

and balance. At the same time, I argue that the degree of creative freedom is not a subject that can easily be subsumed or ignored; rather, creative autonomy is one of the most significant factors in maintaining the creative workforce within the industry.

The questions I raised about creative autonomy were not straightforward from the outset. Firstly, it was not easy to define 'creative autonomy' itself as there are a variety of different types of autonomy in the workplace (for example, organisational autonomy, operational autonomy, professional autonomy, and so on). It was also true that many internal and external factors affected the level of creative autonomy available to creative labourers. Furthermore, with the question of creative autonomy in the creative production process, the boundary between internal and external influences was very blurred because, at times, creative workers themselves strongly internalised an organisational aim or a professional standard as part of their own desires.

From the perspective of structural determinism, the tendency among creative workers to internalise external influences may be interpreted as a typical characteristic of a subordinated individual who unconsciously imparts existing social power as an 'actor'. However, the distinctive attitudes of the creative labourers I met were somewhat different to this rather simple and pessimistic view of the vulnerable individual worker. In contrast, the attitudes of interviewees toward their career development and the level of creative autonomy available to them were very complex and paradoxical. Through my research, I wanted to elucidate the complexity of the relationships around creative workers, and the ways in which these enabled them to negotiate the level of creative autonomy available to them throughout the career development process. Rather than having a romantic ideal that they would be able to achieve a great level of autonomy that would allow them to actualise their 'pure' creative ambition, the majority of interviewees had a very realistic and practical approach to

their creative career. As shall be seen, interviewees' perceptions about the level of creative autonomy available to them were multifaceted, and their desire for creative autonomy was entwined with numerous other desires, many of which were often contradictory to one another. In reality, most interviewees displayed assertiveness in actualising not only their own creative ambition but also other desires, such as achieving a good reputation, maintaining economic stability, and upholding a good work-life balance. As we shall see, I sought to explicate such a tendency with the concept of multiple identities.

The underlying philosophy of my approach is that structure does not determine everything, nor can individuals maintain their 'essential' identity completely freed from social influences. I believe individuals and social structure influence one another, and the process is not one-way. It is true that individuals are affected by the given structure, but the social structure is also influenced by individuals. The concept of *institutionalised individualisation* (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; cited in Banks, 2007a) portrays a similar view about the active roles of individuals in society. Both Giddens (1991) and Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) identified a need to focus more on the possibility that autonomous individuals could bring about actual change and the development of society. Specifically, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim argued that individuals' 'autonomous' attempts to pursue a better life in turn creates a new institutional format, which 'both encourage[s] and compromise[s] the ability to live a 'sovereign', autonomous and unfettered existence' (Banks, 2007a, p. 97). Arguably, we can assume that such a phenomenon also exists amongst cultural/creative workers who, by assertively pursuing a converged understanding of creativity (which is not only novel but also valuable)³, might challenge the traditional industrial structures and bring a 'progressive' future to the creative and media industries.

³ The definition of 'creativity' for this study is described in Chapter 2.

From the results of the present research, it appeared that the ability of creative workers to maintain balance between subjectivity and structural limitations is not automatically nor instantly formed but rather it evolves through the construction of multiple identities during the career development process. Over time, individuals come to internalise various structural needs within their working identities and thus the balancing of subjectivity and structural limitations becomes a balance between the multiple identities of a creative labourer. With this understanding, it is possible to see that the self-interest of a creative labourer is not in opposition to the aesthetic level of creativity or the quality of innovation, nor are structural conditions necessarily in opposition to a creative labourer's identity. Creative workers not only seek to achieve meaningful self-expression in the creative production process, but also to actualise their personal wellbeing, to achieve a good professional reputation, and to attain stability in their work-life balance. In Chapter 6, I will examine how individual creative autonomy relates to collective progress and the structure of the creative industries by suggesting a new organisational management strategy for creative workforces.

The current study is an effort to observe the lived-experiences of creative workers who are struggling to maintain a good balance between a variety of goals and desires in the creative production process. Most importantly, the primary aim of the study was to observe whether individual labourers were able to negotiate the level of creative autonomy available to them.

I believe a good cultural/creative product is the result of a good work environment, which offers space to creative labourers to be both creative and confidently experimental. Constructing such an environment is one of the most significant prerequisites in bringing continuous creative development to the industry. I hope this study may be a good starting point from which to understand the unique attitudes of creative workers and the co-development of individual creative labourers, organisations, and the industry as a whole.

Abbreviations

AD	Assistant PD
BARB	Broadcasters Audience Research Board
CJ E&M	CJ Entertainment and Media
CP	Chief Producer
CPC	Comprehensive Programming Channels
DBC	Daehan Broadcasting Corporation
DMB	Digital Multimedia Broadcasting
FD	Floor Director
IPC	Independent Production Company
IPTV	Internet Protocol Television
JODK	Kyungsung Broadcasting Network
JTBC	Joongang Tongyang Broadcasting Company
KBS	Korean Broadcasting System
KIPDA	Korean Independent Producers & Directors' Association
KORCAD	Korea Office Radio Corporation of America (RCA) Distributor
KPDA	Korean Producers and Directors' Association
KRW	Korean Republic Won
MBC	Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation
MPP	Multiple Programme Provider
MSO	Multiple System Operator
MSP	The integration of a System Operator (SO) and Programme Provider (PP)
NO	Network Operator
OJT	On-the-job Training
PD	Producer-Director
PP	Programme Provider
RCA	Radio Corporation of America
SBS	Seoul Broadcasting System
SLT	Simultaneous Loose-Tight
SO	System Operator
VOD	Video On Demand

Tables and Figures

Figures

Figure 2.1	Organisational identity in journalism	p.32
Figure 2.2	The typical process to become a Main PD	p.36
Figure 2.3	The construction process of the Organisational Identity of a PD	p.45
Figure 2.4	The three identities of a PD	p.49
Figure 2.5	The four stages of career development for a PD	p.50
Figure 2.6	A New Analytical Framework of Creative Autonomy	p.52
Figure 3.1	A typical caption in a Korean entertainment television programme	p.73
Figure 3.2	A typical caption in a Japanese entertainment television programme	p.73
Figure 3.3	The industrial structure of the Cable Television Business in Korea	p.79
Figure 3.4	PD Entry Process for SBS in 2013 (terrestrial broadcaster)	p.85
Figure 3.5	PD Entry Process for JTBC in 2013 (CPC, cable broadcaster)	p.88
Figure 3.6	The hierarchical structure of the PD Labour Market	p.93
Figure 5.1	Three different desires in regard to ratings	p.138
Figure 5.2	Recent movements of PD labour in the Korean television industry	p.156
Figure 5.3	The two conflicting desires of an individual creative labourer as a creative self	p.194
Figure 5.4	The foundational role of individual identity in the negotiation of creative autonomy	p.207
Figure 5.5	The typical production process of a television programme	p.213

Tables

Table 3.1	Import of programmes by television networks	p.69
Table 3.2	Cloned Korean copycat programmes in the 1990s	p.71
Table 3.3	Interviewees who found a freelancer PD position through a private educational body	p.89
Table 4.1	List of Interviewees	p.103
Table 5.1	The frequency of co-occurrence with the single code 'Ratings'	p.114
Table 5.2	Weekly on-air broadcasting schedule of food and cooking shows in the Korean entertainment television genre in July 2015	p.120
Table 6.1	A suggested organisational management strategy for creative labourers	p.230

CH 1. Introduction

The research presented here is a study of the negotiated nature of creative autonomy and its relation to the multiple identities of creative labourers. This study primarily observes the lived-experiences of creative workers through the case of Main PDs in the South Korean (hereinafter Korean) light-entertainment television industry. In this introductory chapter, I first illustrate the research themes and questions, which are foundational for the thesis, before then providing necessary definitions and setting the boundaries of this study. Lastly, the structure of the thesis will be presented.

1.1. Research themes

The present thesis aims to contribute to the field of cultural/creative labour research and the studies of creative organisations and management strategies. First, this study fills a gap in the existing literature about the concept of creative autonomy: largely, authors still subscribe to traditional images of artistic work and a dichotomous perception of the relationship between commerce and creativity. There has also been an historic tendency to define the concept of creative autonomy needed by contemporary creative workers as 'aesthetic autonomy' (Wolff, 1987:3, cited in Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010). Having identified a few recent attempts to reframe the concept of creative autonomy by acknowledging the specificity of creative labour in the commercial environment, this study aims to establish a new framework of creative autonomy that considers the multiple identities of creative labourers. By elucidating an appropriate concept of creative autonomy, the present study attempts to explain the distinctive attitudes that contemporary creative labourers maintain. In addition, the importance of upholding a good level of creative autonomy will be carefully considered for the development of not only creative workers but also creative organisations

and the industry as a whole.

Secondly, this study reflects upon an appropriate management strategy for creative organisations to properly encourage creative labourers within the organisational environment. Due to 'boundaryless' recruitment trends in the creative and media labour market and the shift toward short-term and project-based contracts (Arthur, 2008; Eikhof et al., 2012), creative workers have often been described as a group of people who monetise their capacities without a stable organisational boundary. In the process, there has been a tendency to overlook discussions about the importance of an organisational relationship for creative workers. The present research points out that, despite such trends, the level of significance of maintaining a good relationship with an organisation has not much changed, as creative workers remain related to an organisation to a certain degree, either as a freelance worker or a part-time contract labourer. This study argues that in order for creative workers to continue their career in a stable manner within the current creative industries, managing organisational relationships is one of the most important capacities they should have. In this study, I link this notion to the concept of the multiple identities of creative workers, who not only desire personal creative ambitions, but also seek organisational and professional values in the field. In addition, this study suggests a possible management strategy for creative organisations to maintain a good relationship with creative labourers—labourers who have the potential to bring irreplaceable value to the development of both workers and organisations in the longer term.

1.2. Research questions

The present study sets out to answer to the following research questions, which will be examined and discussed in greater detail in Chapters 5 and 6.

- 1) How should we understand the concept of the creative autonomy of labourers in the contemporary cultural/creative industries, an undeniably commercial and efficiency-led environment?

The first question is theoretically and empirically explored. After proposing a provisional definition of creative autonomy based on theories of autonomy and creativity, I set forth an analytical framework for creative autonomy that takes into account career development stages and the formulation of the multiple identities of creative labourers (Chapter 2). The validity of this new concept of creative autonomy will be examined throughout Chapter 5 with the analysis of semi-structured interviews with Main PDs.

- 2) What desires have been found in creative workers (Main PDs in the Korean light-entertainment television industry) during the production process (besides creative ambitions)?

An answer to this second question is also sought through both theoretical and empirical approaches. In Chapter 2, I identify three different identities (personal, organisational, and professional) within creative workers and argue that a creative labourer has different but simultaneous desires that are related to each identity. I also describe the career development process of a PD role and link it to the process through which the multiple identities of a typical PD in the light-entertainment genre are formulated. Through this, I aim to demonstrate that creative workers desire not only to actualise personal creative ambitions (as most previous studies on cultural work have contended), but also seek to have a stable organisational status and to achieve a good professional reputation in the field. In Chapter 5, I examine these assumptions by observing how actual creative workers seek diverse but concurrent desires, and find that these are rooted in their multiple identities.

3) How are the levels of creative autonomy available to Main PDs negotiated in the workplace with regard to their multiplicities?

The third question is primarily explored through the analysis of empirical data. Based upon the foundational idea of the multiplicities of the PD position, I observe how PDs negotiate and balance not only their own desires but also external demands and interventions. In particular, the process of negotiating the creative autonomy of Main PDs is analysed through three different themes (ratings, the professionalisation process, and subjective satisfaction in work), which reflect the various conflicts and dilemmas that Main PDs experience when negotiating the level of creative autonomy available to them (Chapter 5).

4) How do Main PDs perceive intrinsic and extrinsic rewards in their creative work?

An answer to this fourth question is sought through both empirical and theoretical approaches. In reviewing studies of creative management in Chapter 2, I argue that creative labourers pursue not only intrinsic rewards (such as pleasure, enjoyment, self-satisfaction, and so on) from their work, but also extrinsic rewards (such as money, fame, reputation, and so on). In Chapter 5, this view is then empirically examined, particularly in the context of multiple identities, through analysis of the interviews with Main PDs.

5) What kind of management strategy could be suggested to support the distinctive labour attitude that Main PDs demonstrate?

The last question is explored in Chapter 6 as a further discussion. Although this question was not the primary aim of my research, having identified the problems and issues found in establishing a level of creative autonomy, and the influence that creative autonomy could

have on the longer term development of individual creative labourers, creative organisations, and the industry as a whole, it was considered crucial to suggest an alternative direction for creative management strategies.

1.3. Definitions and the scope of the study

In the present study, the term ‘creative labour’ refers to workers who produce symbolic goods or services in the cultural/creative industries. Since there are so many different types of employment and organisational structures, we may not be able to readily simplify the concept. For the purpose of this research, I will define the status of creative workers as those *who make their living by working* in the cultural/creative industries.

However, this does not mean that I will consider all wage-earning roles in the creative industries. It could be argued that any role in the creative industries is to some extent linked to the creative production process but it would not be appropriate to include all ‘non-creative’ roles (such as cleaning staff or drivers) in the ‘creative labour’ category as these are not directly linked to the production of symbol-making for the communication of experience. Thus, this research will exclusively consider creative workers whose main endeavour is to invent creative ideas and to actualise these ideas into cultural/creative products.

Following the above definition of creative labour, it is important to note that this study mainly considers commercialised cultural/creative industries that aim to maximise profit from production by reaching as large an audience as possible. For this reason, the light-entertainment television genre in South Korea was selected, where the industry has an evidently commercial and efficiency-led ethos. Within this setting, this study will argue that it is still possible to identify a good level of creative autonomy in the commercial production

environment if we understand the distinctive attitudes of creative labourers toward their work using the concept of multiple identities.

For the given research questions, the role of Main PD in the Korean light-entertainment television industry was selected as the basis of the case study. Although the Korean broadcasting system and its industrial context differ from the Western media market, in which many of the mainstream theories of cultural studies and creativity research have been borne out, it is also true that the Korean entertainment television industry has recently developed significantly in the global content market (see Chapter 3). I interpret such a phenomenon as evidence that the Korean entertainment television industry is continually expanding its creative capacity, and such development is largely led by the principal creative personnel in the programme production process—that is, PDs. Since the present study is primarily interested in observing the value of maintaining the creative autonomy of labourers during the production process, the case of the PD labour market was thought to be an ideal field to explore.

It is also noteworthy that the majority of the PDs interviewed for this study were working in a stable organisational environment. I conducted 16 semi-structured interviews, in which 14 PDs were full-time employees in a broadcasting organisation (see Chapter 4). This reflects a distinctive feature of the PD labour market in mainstream entertainment television production, which is that it is largely organisation-based. This is not to overlook the significant role and scale of temporary workers (such as freelancers and part-time employees) in the industry; however, as discussed in Chapter 3, it is undeniable that organisation-based PDs play the core creative role in the field by leading the development and the expansion of the light-entertainment television industry. The structure of the PD labour market is also described in Chapter 3. Again, it is also worth noting that the focus of

the present research on the experienced full-time employees differs from the tendency to observe freelancers and new entrants in much of the previous literature on cultural/creative work, which have been primarily based on cases from the Anglo-American cultural/creative labour market.

In addition, the case of entertainment television PDs was believed to be an appropriate foundation upon which to examine both the concept of multiple identities and the new analytical framework of creative autonomy proposed in this study. Presumably, creative workers in any type of employment would experience multiplicities in the workplace, but the case of PDs in the light-entertainment television genre was thought to particularly fit with the research questions because the PD role in the light-entertainment genre is largely organisation-based, therefore creating multiple identities in PDs and providing a context within which the various conflicts and negotiation processes about the level of creative autonomy could be explored. In Chapter 4, I thoroughly explain the design of the study, including the selection of the research field, the process of conducting interviews, and the interpretation of the research data.

1.4. Structure of the thesis

The thesis consists of seven chapters, and is divided into two parts. Part I (Chapters 1 to 4) offers the historical and theoretical background for the study. Part II (Chapters 5 to 7) is the empirical examination of my new framework of creative autonomy.

Following this first chapter, in Chapter 2 I provide the theoretical context in which my new framework of creative autonomy was first formulated. To understand the current labour market in the creative industries, I first explore the limitations of the concepts of both

‘creative autonomy’ and ‘creative labourer’ as defined by previous literature about the cultural/creative industries and work. By drawing upon various theoretical approaches toward the matter of creative autonomy—from theories of creativity to research about identities, motivation and creative management—I suggest a need to establish a new framework of creative autonomy that is based on the notion of the multiple identities of creative workers. I argue that an understanding of the multiplicities of creative labourers allows us to appropriately understand the concept of the creative autonomy that is needed for creative workers to thrive in what are now undoubtedly commercial and efficiency-led creative industries. In particular, I point out that the concept of creative autonomy should be seen as a negotiation process, rather than an unrealistic ideal. My framework of creative autonomy understands creative labourers to be a group of people who endeavour to maintain a good level of creative autonomy during the production process by continually negotiating between structural limitations and subjective desires. With this idea of creative autonomy, I argue that we are able to identify the different but concurrent desires that creative labourers have, not only as a creative self, but also as an employed creative labourer and a creative professional. After presenting the process by which the multiplicities are constructed with the case of PDs (Producer-Directors), who are the primary research subject of this study, I conclude Chapter 2 by proposing a new analytical framework of creative autonomy for this research.

In Chapter 3, I provide the social and historic context in which my new framework of creative autonomy will be examined. I first describe the historical background of the South Korean television industry and the light-entertainment television genre, including the particular historical context in which the position of PD was brought about. I then present the changes in the structure of the PD labour market, from the traditional tendency of class distinction among PDs based on hierarchical relationships between broadcasters, to the increased

mobility of PD workers in recent years. Throughout the chapter, I identify various environmental factors that affect the level of creative autonomy available to PDs, and show that, in any case, creative labourers in the Korean television industry have long sought a good level of creative autonomy. I then articulate the significance of understanding the concept of creative autonomy with a proper lens.

In Chapter 4, I provide the research design and methodology of the thesis. I explain the foundation for the adoption of a qualitative research design (using semi-structured interviews) to investigate the matter of creative autonomy with the case of the PD labour market in the Korean light-entertainment television genre. I also detail the full interview process, from the selection of interviewees to the interpretation of particular expressions, issues in translation, and the challenges that I experienced during interviews. This includes details of a thematic analysis of the empirical data. Finally, I examine the validity of the applied research methodology as a means with which to explore the aim of this study.

As mentioned earlier, Part II (Chapters 5 to 7) is the empirical examination of my new framework of creative autonomy, mainly based upon the analysis of my in-depth interviews with light-entertainment television PDs.

Chapter 5 is arranged in three sub-chapters (5.1 to 5.3), which are based on the three different themes that were selected through thematic analysis of the empirical data; namely, viewership ratings, the process of professionalisation, and the importance of deriving enjoyment (or subjective satisfaction) from work. Each sub-chapter examines a particular conflict that Main PDs experience in negotiating the level of creative autonomy available to them during the production process. Sub-chapter 5.1 deals with the theme of *viewership ratings*, and describes the lived-experiences of PDs who endeavour to achieve a good level

of creative autonomy by negotiating between the commercial value of a television programme and their own subjective and professional desires. Throughout the sub-chapter, I present three different but simultaneous desires that a PD holds in regard to ratings, as a creative self, an employed creative labourer, and a creative professional. By focusing on the contradictory desires of a PD, I aim to assess the validity of my new framework of creative autonomy and the concept of multiple identities proposed by this study. In sub-chapter 5.2, the second theme, *the process of professionalisation*, is discussed. By revealing the paradoxical nature of the organisation-based professionalisation process, I articulate the unique link between organisations and creative labourers in the Korean entertainment television industry, where both need each other to develop further. Sub-chapter 5.3 explores *the importance of deriving enjoyment from work* and the distinctive attitudes held by interviewees toward this. By observing that PDs valued the possibility of maintaining a sense of enjoyment through the pursuit of their creative ambitions, the sub-chapter offers a foundation upon which to discuss the unique stance that creative workers hold in the creative production field. In the analysis, it appeared that PDs looked for opportunities to autonomously realise their personal creative ambitions by upholding a good relationship with organisations and establishing a positive reputation in the professional field. Throughout these three sub-chapters, I focus on how the level of creative autonomy is negotiated and balanced in the lived experience of PDs based on the multiple desires borne out of their three different identities. Based on this, I aim to examine my own approach toward the concept of creative autonomy and the idea of the multiplicity of creative workers.

Chapter 6 continues the discussion about the optimal relationship between organisations and professionalised creative workers. With regard to recent changes in the PD labour market, I suggest a need to establish a new management strategy with which Korean broadcasters might manage professionalised PD labourers, to bring about the development

of not only organisations but also the professional PD workforce and the industry as a whole. In particular, I review studies on professionalism and creative management to gain further insight into an ideal management strategy for professional PD workers.

Finally, Chapter 7 revisits the initial aims of the thesis and relates these to the findings and discussions of this study. In addition, the chapter suggests further implications for future research on creative work and management.

In general, this thesis challenges previous tendencies to understand the concept of creative autonomy based upon an assumption that creative labourers do not differ significantly from artistic workers, who, it is argued, primarily seek intrinsic rewards by following only their personal artistic ambition, rather than extrinsic rewards. Similarly, by observing the lived-experiences of PDs who seek to attain a good level of creative autonomy within the given organisation-based working environment, this study challenges the existing perception of creative workers as being passive. Based on a new framework of creative autonomy, this thesis suggests a need to establish a new understanding of the creative labour market, wherein it is appreciated that passionate creative labourers assertively negotiate the level of creative autonomy available to them by balancing out the various needs and demands of the industry with their subjective desires.

Part I. Theoretical and Historical Background

CH 2. Establishing an Analytical Framework of Creative Autonomy

It is a widespread characteristic of creative and media industries that while employers loosely control creative workers by offering them a certain level of creative autonomy during the production process, the process of distribution and reproduction of creative products is very tightly monitored and controlled (Hesmondhalgh, 2010). In studies of cultural/creative work however, the concept of creative autonomy has not changed significantly from the traditional notion of aesthetic autonomy (Wolff, 1987; cited in Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010). Some meaningful attempts to reframe the concept of creative autonomy have recently been observed (e.g. Banks, 2010; Hesmondhalgh, 2010; Holt & Lapenta, 2010), which acknowledge the inevitable conflicts between creativity and commerce in the contemporary cultural/creative production process. The present research is in line with such attempts to read the concept of creative autonomy and the specificity of creative labour in the undoubtedly commercial and market-driven working environment. I strongly believe that we now need an appropriate and practical concept of creative autonomy that embraces the specific nature of the creative labour process in contemporary creative industries, where the tension between creativity and commerce can be considered to enhance rather than diminish levels of creativity and innovation.

Before setting up the new model of creative autonomy for this research, the reason why we need a new framework of creative autonomy should first be explored. Therefore, I will start this chapter by articulating the definitions of 'creativity' and 'autonomy', and will suggest a provisional definition of 'creative autonomy' that accurately reflects the complex and paradoxical nature of creative labour (see Section 2.1). I will then identify the current limitations of the concept of 'creative autonomy' used in previous studies of cultural and media work. As my study particularly observes the television labour market in South Korea,

a brief summary of television production studies and their consideration of the tensions between creativity and commerce is also provided (Section 2.2). Thereafter, using insights from the theories of creativity, identities, motivation and creative management, I will argue that the concept of creative autonomy should be built on the notion of a worker's multiple identities, and that such a perspective provides greater insight into the complex and paradoxical nature of creative labour. After briefly presenting the relevant theories of identity, I will identify a distinctive concept of organisational identity that provides a useful tool to understand the need for balance in creative work between structural limitations and subjective desires; this concept underpins my own framework of creative autonomy (Section 2.3). Based on my research interviews, I will then show the process by which multiple identities are constructed in PDs, the primary research subject of this study (Section 2.4). Finally, in Section 2.5, I will propose a new analytical framework of creative autonomy, which seeks to overcome the limitations of previous work by highlighting the potential for the meaningful autonomy of creative labourers to bring about the development of not only individuals but also organisations, and eventually, the industry as a whole.

2.1. Defining creativity and autonomy through the eyes of creative labourers

2.1.1. What is creativity for creative labourers?

The most recent and widely used definition of *creative* in the studies of creative industries has two distinctive characteristics: *novel* and *valuable*. Margaret Boden (Boden, 1994: 75-6; cited in Bilton, 2007, p. 3) observed that whether a cultural act has *novelty* can be differently assessed depending on its context (individual or social). From the industrial perspective, the element of *value* in this context should be assessed mainly by external criteria that determine whether the act surpasses mere novelty and accomplishes a valuable purpose within the industry (Bilton & Cummings, 2010).

However, in the eyes of creative workers, the definition of creativity in cultural production becomes more complex. Creative workers should be understood as a group of people who are motivated by not only external rewards (such as money, reputation, power), but also by numerous internal rewards. Indeed, amongst my interviewees, a convergence of external and internal standards of creativity was continually observed. While seeking to produce what they personally believe to be creative, creative workers are at the same time also trying to achieve an appropriate level of creativity for audiences. Further, they aim to generate long-term creative impact for the organisation and the industry as a whole. In short, since creative workers assess the level of creativity based upon their own perspective and a variety of social contexts, their own understanding of creativity can be defined as that which is '*novel and valuable both to themselves and other players in the industry*' (such as the organisation, audiences, professional colleagues, and the industry).

2.1.2. What is autonomy and why does it matter to creative labourers?

1) Defining autonomy

When it comes to the definition of *autonomy*, we need to return to the origin of the word itself. According to the Complete Oxford Dictionary, *autonomy* as self-determination is derived from the Greek word 'autonomos', formed from the words 'autos' (self) and 'nomos' (laws). In ancient Greek philosophy, Plato and Aristotle related the ideal concept of autonomy to humanity as self-sufficiency that is independent from others (Dryden, 2010). For Kant, autonomy is the personal capacity to make a decision within one's own moral principles, free from the coercion of external forces or influences (Schneewind, 1992, p. 309). Over time, these concepts of autonomy as self-determination have diversified through various social and political contexts (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010, p. 40) and now have very complex and ambiguous theoretical and conceptual foundations. This is further

complicated by the context of creative labour, which is itself somewhat broad (see Chapter 1.3 to see the definition of creative labour for this study). However, the basic concept of autonomy as self-determination still functions as an ideal definition and the way in which the essential values of autonomy are retained has continued to be a question in many social contexts. Thus, in this research, the term autonomy will refer to *self-determination*. Additionally, this study aims to demonstrate that levels of creative autonomy are inextricably related to the multiple identities of creative labour.

2) Why autonomy matters to levels of creativity

While traditional management approaches believed that most employees “must be coerced, controlled, directed, and threatened with punishment to get them to put forth adequate effort toward the achievement of organisational objectives” (one of the beliefs of Theory X Managers as outlined by McGregor; cited in Pink, 2009, p. 76), recent business studies tend to emphasise the importance of stimulating the intrinsic motivation of workers by offering an autonomous working environment for more creative and productive outcomes. Since Abraham Maslow proposed the ‘hierarchy of needs’ (1957), it has been widely believed that encouraging employees’ intrinsic motivation of ‘self-actualisation’ would lead to much greater levels of performance. As Bilton (2007) put it, McGregor’s ‘Theory X’ and ‘Theory Y’, which drew upon Maslow’s notion of extrinsic and intrinsic motivation, showed a change in direction for human resource management strategies, which have now started to emphasise the productive value of self-motivated workers. Afterwards, many studies from various disciplines (including behavioural science, psychology, and business) have shown ample evidence that intrinsic motivators are crucial elements in enhancing the creativity of employees. While these studies have recognised that external rewards are very effective in enhancing performance on a simple task (one that has a clear path to its solution), it has

been found that such rewards do not help individuals to solve a 'heuristic' task that requires creativity and does not have a single solution. For instance, Amabile (1998) argued that extrinsic motivators (such as money or compensation) do not necessarily kill creativity, but in many cases, such external rewards are closely linked to pressure and control being exerted on employees, which in turn stops people being autonomously absorbed in the work itself. In contrast, she emphasised that workers who are intrinsically motivated by their own 'interest, satisfaction, and challenge of the work itself' will be the most creative.

From such a perspective, to maximise the productivity of creative activities, it has been believed that organisations should provide 'adequate' reward strategies that allow employees to autonomously concentrate primarily on the work itself, instead of focusing on the external rewards of the task. In this vein, Deci and Ryan (1985) emphasised that external rewards (such as money) could harm the intrinsic interest of an activity, and argued that 'tangible rewards' should be provided unexpectedly after the completion of a task. Similarly, Amabile (1996) observed that people tended to express the 'highest levels of creativity' if the reward for a task was received 'as a kind of bonus' (p. 119). Such perspectives have been borne out in experience. One of the most well known strategies is that of allowing employees to freely do whatever they wish during 15 to 20 per cent of their working time. Indeed, companies such as 3M and Google have shown that such 'slack time' allows employees to think more creatively and this has been linked to successful innovations, such as Post-it notes and Gmail (Bilton & Cummings, 2010; Pink, 2009). Likewise, several motivational theories have found a meaningful link between the autonomy of intrinsically motivated workers and their levels of creativity. As Pink (2009) pointed out, since the increasing disappearance (or outsourcing) of traditional 'white-collared' routine jobs due to technological advances and the neo-liberalised global labour market environment, most jobs now require employees to have the 'heuristic' capacity to solve complex, interesting, and

self-directed tasks. In this sense, any business that seeks higher levels of creativity in production should provide sufficient autonomy to workers. Then, when it comes to cultural/creative organisations in which employees' primary task is believed 'to be creative', granting sufficient levels of autonomy is, in theory, an essential prerequisite, not a matter of choice.

There is however a danger in the direction of such management approaches that organisations could ignore the importance of offering a proper level of external reward to employees. However, the primary precondition of such perspectives is that 'baseline rewards' (such as wages or contract benefits) should be adequate, and ideally, the level of this baseline needs to be higher than average (Pink, 2009, p. 172). As we shall see in Chapter 5, it was true that for PDs in the Korean television industry achieving a good level of intrinsic reward from their creative work (specifically, enjoyment – see Chapter 5.3) was a priority and this was primarily acquired through an autonomous working process. But at the same time, they naturally sought proper levels of extrinsic rewards (income, reputation, and economic status). Indeed, not a single interviewee ignored the importance of maintaining a good economic status in favour of the pursuit of individual creative ambition through creative work.

3) A provisional definition of creative autonomy

Given the phrase 'creative autonomy' is a compound structure, a good starting point for discussion of a provisional definition may be found by combining the definitions of 'creative' and 'autonomy'. Considering the definitions of 'creativity' and 'autonomy' explored thus far, a provisional definition of creative autonomy for this research could be: 'the capacity of creative workers to make a self-determined decision within *their own principles of creativity*

during the production processes of those cultural goods or services which are novel and valuable to both themselves and other players in the industry’.

Such a definition provides a broad perspective on creative autonomy; however, it may not be adequate to use as an analytical framework because the nature of *‘their own principles’* is very complex and is based upon paradoxical relationships within the creative industries. As we shall see later in this chapter, since creative workers simultaneously seek multiple outcomes based upon their multiple identities, they seek to achieve a good balance between their goals as a creative self, an employed labourer, and a professional. In the process, the level of creative autonomy is always limited and negotiated in the given environment. Thus, the present research suggests that the nature of creative autonomy should be understood as an ongoing process of negotiation.

2.2. Previous discourses on creative autonomy

Before setting up the new model of creative autonomy for critical analysis, it is imperative to identify the gaps in previous research about the concept of creative autonomy. In the following sections, I will first outline the historic tendency to read creative autonomy primarily through the lens of aesthetic autonomy. I will then identify the few recent attempts to conceptualise creative autonomy in a more practical way. After observing how the tensions between commerce and creativity have been explored in television studies in particular, I will finally suggest that the concept of multiple identities will allow us to construct an appropriate understanding of creative autonomy.

2.2.1. Creative autonomy as aesthetic autonomy

Presumably, some of the most vibrant debates about the value of creative autonomy have been witnessed through the notion that a clear distinction between “pure” and “commercial” artistic products in the cultural industries is needed, a notion that is derived from the Renaissance and used extensively to evaluate classical art (Wolff, 1987:3, cited in Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010). In this sense, creative autonomy has been primarily understood as ‘aesthetic autonomy’. In such a tradition, creative workers (artistic labour) were believed to have their own strong tastes and there was a need to protect their artistic creation process from social and commercial forces to create genuine and valuable art, even though complete freedom was still considered impossible (Jay, 1984).

The tendency to understand creative autonomy as aesthetic autonomy is evident in cultural studies traditions and this assumption has resulted in denial of the possibility that creative autonomy can be maintained in the commercial cultural/creative industries. For example, Adorno and Horkheimer’s (1992) ‘culture industry’ critique contended that the standardisation of the cultural industry would require cultural labourers to create products by following industrial demands and in doing so their artistic autonomy would be compromised by commercial relations.

Neo-Foucauldian approaches toward cultural production have expressed a somewhat different conceptualisation of relative autonomy but it is still largely negative, particularly with regard to the concept of ‘governmentality’. Briefly speaking, Foucault (1971) argued that contemporary societies have a ‘new technology of the self’. Specifically, every member of society creates their identity through primary discourse within the social environment, such that each individual self naturally experiences an existing social discourse and power relationships (such as government and State) through their own self-actualisation process.

Rose (1999, pp. 190-191) developed this view and argued that 'leading a life in the contemporary world is a matter of the fabrication of identities within personal projects of self-actualisation in a whole variety of practices and sites'. The workplace is one of these 'sites' and an industrious worker comes to be governed as they endeavour to find both meaning and their own identity. In this sense, the self-actualisation process of individuals benefits organisations by providing 'productivity, efficiency, and the like' (p. 244). By applying such approaches to creative labour and creative autonomy, a new fixed image of creative workers has emerged: specifically, creative workers are viewed as a vulnerable labour force that has an intrinsic self-motivation towards the creative process. From this perspective, neo-Foucauldians understand that companies allow workers to actualise their identities through work to increase productivity and efficiency, and consequently, they believe that the celebration of autonomy has brought about the self-exploitation of creative workers as flexible and meaningful work has become linked to job instability, long working hours, and relatively low wages (Banks, 2007b; Ross, 2003; Stahl, 2005). To date, this governmentality approach has been widely applied to analyses of creative labour, and in the process, creative autonomy in cultural workplaces has been regarded as a mere fantasy or highly limited concept.

In contrast, Bourdieu contended that creative workers in fact take advantage of the superficial perception of creative autonomy as this perception is linked to financial rewards (Bourdieu & Nice, 1980). For Bourdieu, the cultural industry needs to offer autonomy to cultural workers as the industry itself produces a 'belief' in art to conceal the fact that the industry primarily seeks commercial goals and to hide its bare face.

While each theory has evidence to support its own perspective and distinctive differences can be found in each given context, within such a frame, the likelihood that an individual has

‘real’ choice is limited because it is presumed that structurally formulated criteria will eventually guide workers to work more effectively and productively (Du Gay, 2007; Prichard, 2002).

Since it is somewhat unrealistic to maintain entirely pure creative ambitions in the commercialised cultural/creative industries, many previous studies on cultural work have also criticised the ‘fetishisation of creativity’ within the current cultural/creative industry (Banks, 2007b; McRobbie, 2002)—an industry which ostensibly values the flexibility and autonomy of creative workers but actually ‘drives the creative stage of production further towards its structural subordination to the imperatives of accumulation’ (Ryan, 1992, p. 178). The above approaches have one thing in common: an understanding of creative autonomy as a monolithic concept with which it is difficult to negotiate other values or needs.

Such tendencies to interpret creative autonomy as aesthetic autonomy are also well in line with the ongoing mythologies of creative genius and genuine creative ambition in cultural/creative organisations. While the idea of “the myth of genius” has seemingly been shunned in recent studies of creativity theories (Bilton, 2010; Sawyer, 2006; Weisberg, 1986), the organisational treatment of cultural workers still seems to be largely based on the assumption that the creative value of cultural products is derived primarily from individuals’ own innate creativity. Based on this notion, it has been believed that a special management strategy is needed to protect individual creatives (who are believed to have ‘authentic’ creative ambition), and many cultural organisations have established a ‘creative department’ that separates ‘creatives’ from ‘suits’ (Banks, 2007b; Bilton, 2007; Bilton & Leary, 2002; Nixon, 2003). As a result, one of the most problematic issues of creative labour has occurred, namely the isolation of creative workers in organisation and management processes. In the interests of encouraging creativity and innovation (whether ostensibly or

genuinely), the positions of creative workers have instead gradually become more vulnerable (Bilton, 2007).

Evidently, creative labourers in the context of today's cultural production are not a group of people who sit quietly waiting for their own muse to appear nor are they non-profit artists who seek only to achieve their own creative ambitions without reference to economic success or audience feedback. Thus, understanding creative autonomy only as aesthetic autonomy may not be appropriate. To bring 'creativity' to the market, creative workers must have sufficient interaction with other players in the industry during the production process, and receiving positive feedback and praise from both professional colleagues and audiences is a very important motivator for creative workers. At the same time, they long for a good quality of life brought about by maintaining an ideal baseline level of reward. That is, creative labourers seek different types of autonomy simultaneously, and the level of creative autonomy is affected by various external and internal pressures and demands.

2.2.2. Reframing the concept of creative autonomy

Recently, many have pointed out the need to understand the complex relationships surrounding the creative labour process and have attempted to reframe the concept of creative autonomy. The underlying argument is that a certain degree of creative autonomy is needed even in a commercial environment as the core cultural and economic value of cultural/creative products is still fundamentally derived from art (Ryan, 1992). By drawing upon intensive empirical research, Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) acknowledged the complex relationships around the creative labour process, including those between various external and internal demands and forces. They proposed that creative autonomy has two levels—aesthetic autonomy and professional autonomy—and identified the various tensions

between subjective desires and collective aims during the creative production process. Rather than formulating a general concept of creative autonomy, they instead described the specific working processes of creative workers, and applied different concepts of autonomy to each case (e.g. operational autonomy for a music magazine editor and professional autonomy for building and construction magazine editors).

Meanwhile, by drawing upon various empirical studies of cultural/creative labourers (e.g. Oakley, 2009; Taylor and Littleton, 2008; and Toynbee, 2000), Banks (2010) argued that there is a need to understand the concept of creative autonomy as something that is always subject to negotiation. He pointed out the complex character of cultural/creative labourers, who not only desire to have higher levels of autonomy, but who, to a certain degree, are also ready to negotiate and compromise their subjective freedom within the commercial environment. Nonetheless, Banks noted that such a concept of autonomy was denied in studies such as Boltanski and Chiapello's (2005) 'artistic critique', which contended that any form of artistic autonomy or freedom is, in reality, absorbed by the 'new spirits of capitalism'. However, Banks again stressed the ongoing need to examine the conflicts and negotiations that creative workers experience, as these workers seem to accept constraints and limitations to their level of creative autonomy in the commercialised working environment.

The present research agrees with both the underlying argument and the need for an alternative framework with which to read the specificity of cultural/creative work. I suggest that the concept of multiple identities will allow us to closely observe the complex relationships surrounding cultural/creative workers in this era, along with the paradoxical decision making process that cultural/creative workers go through during the production process. This is an attempt to emphasise the need to identify creative labour as an everyday working process in which creative workers must deal with complex relationships within the

industry whilst at the same time seeking to realise the achievement of various desires as a creative labourer. Taking this perspective will allow us to observe how the level of creative autonomy is related to the various desires that creative workers have not only as 'creatives' but also as labourers.

2.2.3. Previous research on tensions between creativity and commerce in the television industry

To examine how the tensions between creativity and commerce are negotiated and compromised in the lives of cultural/creative workers, many scholars have adopted ethnographic research methodologies and have closely observed the lived-experiences of cultural/creative workers. In particular, studies of media production have investigated the lived-experiences and subjective views of media labourers, particularly in television and film production processes. In such literature, many 'scholar-practitioners'—who have had relatively easy access to the field—have been observed (including Leo Rosten, Justin Wyatt, Barry Dornfeld, Horace Newcomb, and John Caldwell) (Caldwell, 2009). The present research could be categorised similarly as I too have previous experience working in the field and adopted a qualitative research methodology to investigate the lived-experiences of television workers in South Korea. In a like manner, scholars without experience in the field (including Vicky Mayer, Laura Grindstaff, Georgina Born, and Sarah Baker) have intensively conducted qualitative empirical research by temporarily working in an assistant role.

Early studies of production in Hollywood by both Rosten (1941) and Powdermaker (1950) investigated the working processes and subjective experiences of labourers during the film production process and linked it to theories of alienation. Gitlin's (1983) well-known empirical research in the US television industry revealed how core creative personnel (such as

producers, writers and directors) needed to negotiate the content of programmes with network executives in the commercial media system. More recently, Born (2004), an anthropologist, investigated the production process of the BBC and was exceptionally granted approval to observe important programme meetings and to meet staff inside the company: through the research, she documented how the ambitions of creatives are frequently discouraged by the focus of executives on ratings. In observing the lived-experiences of television workers, researchers have also frequently observed distinctions between below-the-line and above-the-line team members (Mayer, 2011), while some have investigated gendered labour in the television production process (Banks, 2009; D'Acci, 1994).

Recently, a few studies have observed how individual media workers cope with the tensions between creativity and commerce across various dimensions. Paterson (2001) considered the relationship between the level of job security and creativity, and found that television workers in relatively unstable and short-term contracts tended to experience a higher level of creativity as compared to those in more stable, longer-term contracts. Zoellner (2010) revealed that individual workers in independent documentary production companies wished to achieve a better reputation in their field to increase their level of creative autonomy. Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) studied the production process of a reality show and closely observed the emotional struggles that television labourers experienced during the production process due to various relationships with colleagues, participants in the show's competition, and the audience. More recently, Wei's (2012) observation of the production of a reality show identified the ways in which television workers negotiate their individual artistic standards of quality. He noted two strategies—distancing and evaluative tweaking—that enabled individual television workers (both managers and non-managers) to maintain their artistic identity and integrity during the production process.

In respect to employment types, many researchers have focused on project-based work and short-term contracted labourers in the television industry (Blair, 2001; Christopherson, 2008; Lee, 2012; Paterson, 2001; Ursell, 2000). Stoyanova and Grugulis (2012) described the UK television labour market as a 'tournament' in which building a career becomes more uncertain and unpredictable due to the dependency on short-term contracts obtained based on reputation. In such literature, there has been a tendency to focus on the undesirable aspects of being self-employed or freelance in the cultural/creative industries as such labourers tend not to be sufficiently established in the field. As a result, discussions about the roles of relatively established cultural/creative workers (who play a crucial role in bringing creativity and innovation to the continually shifting industries as core creative personnel) have been somewhat overlooked.

By observing those creative workers who are on the 'periphery' or who have a relatively short career history, research has illuminated the lack of glamour in the cultural/creative industries and the demands of the work (Arvidsson et al., 2010; Christopherson, 2008; Gill, 2002; Ross, 2003; Stahl, 2005). These are however somewhat selective cases of young and novice cultural workers who suffer from poor working conditions while dealing with repetitive work that requires generic skills, and again there has been little opportunity to examine the level of creative autonomy experienced by relatively established cultural/creative labourers. Also, while many have focused on the structural changes of the industry and the weakened power of previously stable and well-established creative roles (for instance, permanent positions in terrestrial broadcasters), there has been little consideration of what might be an appropriate organisational relationship for contemporary creative labourers. Even in the case of freelance workers or part-time contract labourers, such workers are still, to some degree, related to an organisation, and managing organisational relationships is one of the most essential capacities that creative workers should have in order to continue their career in a

stable manner within the industries. As Wei (2012) concluded, the tensions between creativity and commerce are largely dependent on each context: for example, his particular case study showed that cultural managers and non-managerial labourers are not opposed to one another in respect to the notion of artistic integrity. Thus, I believe that the present research expands the scope of existing studies in the television industry by observing the case of more established television labourers in South Korea, thereby allowing a different, and perhaps new, perspective on both the tensions between creativity and commerce and the question of creative autonomy during the production process.

2.3. Shaping the concept of the multiple identities of creative labourers

In this study, I suggest that the concept of the multiple identities of creative labourers allows us to understand not only the paradoxical attitudes and choices that creative workers hold, but also the process through which creative autonomy is negotiated. Ultimately, this will allow us to observe the lived-experiences of creative autonomy in the creative industries. Therefore, I devote the following sections to further consideration of the theories of multiple identities, after which I will observe the process by which multiple identities are constructed in television PDs. It will also become evident that television PDs have three identities: individual, organisational, and professional.

When it comes to the discussion of work identity in the creative labour process, there is a tendency that denies the possibility of subjective identification through work. With increasing market deregulation, privatisation and globalisation within the cultural market, the status of creative labourers has been assumed to be very vulnerable. In many ways, the creative labour process has been interpreted as a kind of 'enchantment' (Faulkner, 1974; Frenette, 2016), which prevents individual labourers from observing the reality hidden behind the ideal

view of creative production through which self-actualisation is promised. Frequently, an individual creative worker is assumed to be an 'actor' who continually reproduces the existing structural order by internalising social and cultural norms through ostensibly 'free' choices. In this post-structuralism frame, the possibility of maintaining and reflecting a distinctive individual identity through creative work seems unlikely.

However, it is inadequate to simply assume that creative labourers' identity is primarily determined by a given structure. If we apply structural determinism to the creative production process, one of the challenges is that it cannot reflect the considerable differences in the level of creativity among workers. Importantly, creative labourers in the same field or organisation should not produce the same products because creative products are not supposed to be standardised. As Webb (2004) indicated, it is difficult to elucidate the status of relationships between the subjective state and the structural environment and to evidence these concretely. Even when considering the same phenomenon, interpretations are varied and most claims are inevitably somewhat speculative. My aim here, however, is to highlight the potential of autonomous individual creative labourers to bring about change and development within both the industry and their selves. Also, I argue that the distinctive identity of creative workers is constructed throughout the career development process as individuals necessarily negotiate between and balance their multiple identities. In the following sections, I will therefore discuss further the concept of multiplicity and the integration of multiple selves, after identifying related theories of identity.

2.3.1. Social identity, organisational identity, and multiple identities

One of the few views on identity that is almost universally agreed amongst scholars is that an individual's identity is inherently fluid (Lacan, 1987 cited in Du Gay, 1996; van Zoonen,

1998; Cornelissen, Haslam, and Balmer, 2007). A person's identity is not formulated automatically within a certain environment but is constructed as the individual reflects numerous structural and personal factors. Thus, it would be fair to say that identity is always subject to change based on changes in external factors. However, this change in identity is not a dichotomous and complete alteration of identity but rather it seems to be much more similar to the blending or accumulation of different identities.

The notion of multiplicity harks back to ancient times. Plato first constructed the concept of multiple identities in *Republic* and *Phaedrus*, in which he recognised that people sometimes want different things at the same time, and this causes inner conflict. In this sense, Plato believed that there were at least two psychologically autonomous parts in an individual and he identified three types of identity: desire, reason, and a volatile "spirited" identity (tripartite theory). He believed that harmony between these three parts would lead to a good life (Gregg, 2012). Freud also observed that humans experience struggle between three autonomous aspects of their psyche (id, ego, and super-ego), and psychological health could be achieved by balancing these three identities (Engler, 2013). This notion has been linked to the concept of 'dual consciousness', which describes the shifting that occurs between different states of consciousness.

If the above notion of multiplicity as outlined by Plato and Freud is primarily concerned with inner psychological conflict, then Tajfel and Turner's widely known social identity theory expounded in the 1970s, along with similar subsequent studies, have focused more on the interrelations between external factors and the identification process. Briefly speaking, social identity theory assumes that individuals construct multiple identities based upon association with a specific group. After voluntarily identifying one's self with a group, individuals seek to enhance their self-esteem by willingly developing their in-group performances (Cornelissen

et al., 2007; Haslam & Ellemers, 2006). Through this process, individuals are 'allowed' to engage in intergroup behaviour and they seek to establish themselves within the group by accomplishing excellence, thereby differentiating themselves as ingroup as opposed to outgroup. Social identity theory and several related theories claim that such behavioural change is not 'dehumanisation' or 'deindividuation', but 'depersonalisation' (Hogg, 1996). In other words, the experience of social identity should not be understood as a loss of 'pure' identity but as a contextual change in the multiple levels of one's identity.

This basic idea of group behaviour and multiple identities is analogous to the concept of organisational identity as established in Business and Management studies. Extensive studies in organisational psychology have sought to find a way to encourage employees to acquire a social identity that reflects organisational norms and values, as this has been believed to be one of the core driving forces for the development of an organisation (Haslam & Ellemers, 2006). If individual employees identify themselves with an organisation, then their self-development promotes the development of the organisation as a whole.

However, we again need to remember that there are considerable differences between individual members, and it is difficult to substantiate the consequences that are theorised to be brought about by organisational identity. In this sense, van Zoonen's (1998) approach to organisational identity well reflected the existence of individual differences and the importance of subjectivity in the labour process. She understood the concept of organisational identity as a sort of negotiating process between structures and subjectivity (see Figure 2.1). It is true that an organisational identity reflects structural imperatives, but it also absorbs individual preferences and subjective factors. From this perspective, it is not possible to simply build an organisational identity under restrictive organisational power. A flexible model of organisational identity allows for a considerable level of subjectivity in the

socialisation process within an institution to be taken into account.

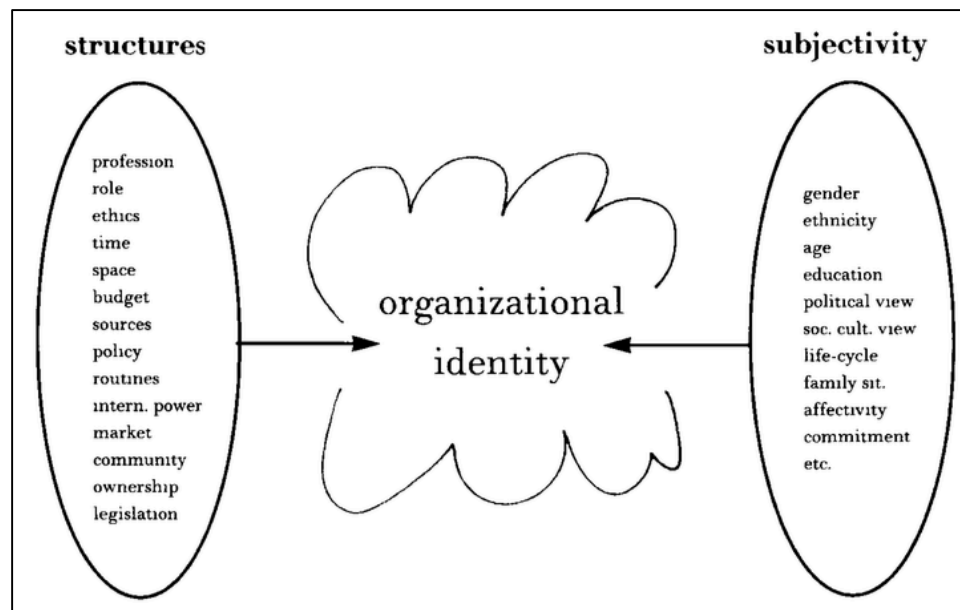


Figure 2.1
Organisational identity in journalism (van Zoonen, 1998, p. 137)

2.3.3. Negotiation and integration of multiple identities

People come to experience multiple identities simultaneously through a variety of socialisation processes. In discourses on identity within the new economy era, it has been argued that it is not possible to construct a coherent self due to the fragmented nature of society (Bauman, 1998; Sennett, 1999; Strangleman & Warren, 2008). However, as Van Wijk and Leisink (2004) observed in the case of freelance graphic designers, it is still possible to achieve an integrated identity within an unstable situation. Of course, such an integrated identity is also always subject to change, but individuals appear to have a certain capacity to blend various identities into a coherent narrative. As Giddens put it, identity should be understood as “the capacity to keep a particular narrative going” (1991, p. 54). Such capacity very much relies upon the individuals’ own will and choice.

Indeed, an individual's subjectivity is, to a certain degree, always constrained by structural imperatives and the external reality. Yet, through an assertive negotiation process, individuals begin to seek an integrated identity that allows them to achieve both individual and structural development. For instance, a person could agree to temporarily set their own preferences and styles aside in favour of the organisational goal, while at the same time attempting to maintain their inner goal by postponing their subjectivity to a future time at which much better structural conditions are created. Some may interpret this primarily through the structural deterministic frame and would hastily conclude that individual identities have been submerged. However, there is a need to observe more closely the extent to which individuals can postpone the application of determination processes relative to the given situation. If individuals merely follow 'structurally determined' roles based on externally constructed identities, the assertive attitude of creative labourers to actualise their own creative ambitions cannot be sufficiently explained. I believe that a different concept of identity is appropriate to understand the specificity of the creative labour process, which is always surrounded by numerous external and internal factors that limit the level of creative autonomy.

In summary, to understand the specificity of the creative worker's identity, we need a framework that values an individual's capacity to bring about change and development within a given structure. To date, there has been a tendency to apply structural determinism to the analysis of subjectivity and identity in creative labour; however, the current empirical research has identified many stories and instances in the creative production process that such structuralism and post-structuralism alone cannot explain. Most importantly, the identity of creative workers cannot be generalised, as their primary task is to create something novel and valuable, which is not supposed to be standardised. Therefore, I believe there is a need to consider a framework that emphasises the important role of subjectivity in the

identification process of creative labour. Furthermore, as people begin to identify themselves with membership of a certain group, understanding the concept of multiple identities is crucial. Again, some may argue that when an individual's behaviour conforms to that of the structure this inevitably means that their individual identity has become subordinate, but this may be an incorrect assumption. Individuals tend to maintain their own character and identity, even if it is not explicitly visible, and this has been borne out in the interviews I have conducted. Only by asking the individuals to explain their motivation does the identity underlying the actions become clear. The findings of the present study suggest that it is the multiplicity of creative workers that is the basis of the balancing acts undertaken and the behaviours seen. Since creative labourers assertively seek a way to actualise their various wishes within the given structure, their creative autonomy becomes not only meaningful but also a crucial asset within the industry as a whole. If we therefore understand the nature of the multiplicity of creative labour, we should be able to identify how the meaningful creative autonomy of creative labourers will eventually bring constant innovation to the creative industries.

Accordingly, in the following section, I will explore how the current PDs, whom I interviewed, have experienced multiplicity throughout their career trajectories, and will identify the typical form of multiple selves, namely three types of identity: individual, organisational, and professional. Finally, I will suggest a new analytical framework of creative autonomy for this research.

2.4. The process through which the multiple identities of PDs are constructed

As we shall later see, my interviewees are current Main PDs in the Korean entertainment television industry. Since my new framework of creative autonomy is based on the concept of multiple identities, and this has been built on the specific observation of the case of Main PDs, the construction process of the multiplicities of Main PDs needs to first be described before suggesting a new framework of creative autonomy for this research. The rationale for interviews and interviewees will be described more fully in Chapter 4.

Main PDs more or less belong to an organisation as an employee (either full-time, part-time or freelance), but at the same time, after debuting their own programme, Main PDs become relatively autonomous professionals who are recognised to have their own specialised knowledge and skills, as well as extensive networks. Similarly, PDs appear to maintain their personal idealistic notions about programme production even after becoming established as a professional. As such, the case studies herein revealed that PDs typically experience three different but simultaneous identities: individual, organisational, and professional.

Based on the earlier discussions about multiplicity, we could assume that PDs are likely to have an integrated identity at the Main PD stage with these three identities all being assimilated. Through my in-depth interviews, this integrated form of multiple selves appears to be the main basis from which PDs negotiate and balance various external and internal conflicts, also reflecting structural and subjective changes at each career stage. The multiple identities of Main PDs are deeply rooted in their different roles, although they are unlikely to explicitly realise the source of their actions at any given moment. As their career develops, PDs begin to balance the complex relationship between different statuses, which in turn leads to psychological tension between the core values within the media industry: namely, creativity, marketability, and connectivity with audiences. The multiple selves of a PD are not

formulated automatically after entry into the labour market; rather, these selves are constructed by the career development process itself.

Thus, in this section, I will observe how the multiplicity of a PD is formulated throughout the career development process, based on my empirical research data. It is true that most PDs go through similar stages before being able to create their own programme as a Main PD (Figure 2.2), however my aim here is not to generalise a concept of PD identity, but to create an analytical framework of multiplicity, which has the potential to become an ideal-typical framework with which to understand the specificity of creative labour. In particular, I will observe the changing interrelations between different identities with respect to the negotiation process of creative autonomy.

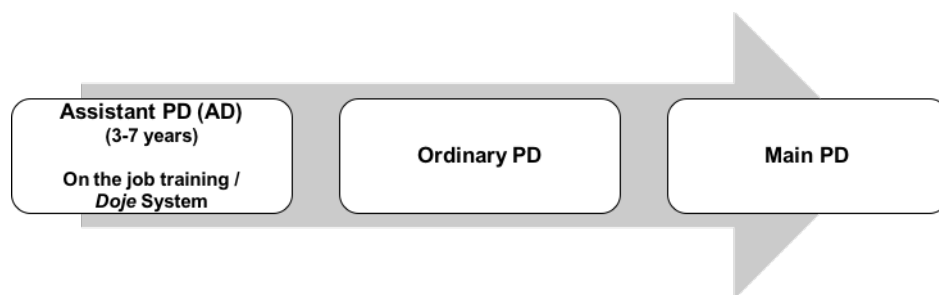


Figure 2.2
The typical process to become a Main PD

2.4.1. Individual idealism about the PD job (before entering the role)

The majority of my interviewees shared that their interest in the PD position began at a very early age, brought about by both their personal interests and their curiosity about the specific roles involved in programme production. While the interest of a few interviewees in broadcasting was borne out of their ordinary viewership experiences, some had more direct experiences thanks to the people around them and were able to observe the television production process itself. For instance, Interviewee BM had hoped to go to media school ever since elementary school because he wanted to follow in his father's footsteps. Similarly,

the father of Interviewee SP worked as a senior make-up artist, and as such, for Interviewee SP, his childhood playground was one of the most privileged terrestrial broadcasters.

Meanwhile, many interviewees stated that their interest in a broadcasting job had arisen through the practical experience of producing an amateur programme in further education, including not only universities and colleges but also private institutions (so-called 'Broadcasting Academies', see Chapter 3.3.2). Interviewee BM expressed his experience as follows:

I was able to work as a student PD in the broadcasting centre of my school with the recommendation of my old professor. I made several programmes there, including promotional videos for the faculty and a documentary about Dong-Ju Yun⁴. The documentary was my first experience as a Main PD I think, although the result was not that successful.

Interviewee BM

Interviewee OJ had a similar educational experience, but he also had the opportunity to witness the power of an audience reaction towards a programme.

It was an amazing experience to express my thoughts and hard work through video content. I made a documentary film about a disabled professor in my school. The professor was unpopular and students hated him. But surprisingly, after the screening of my film, I heard that many student audiences burst into tears. You know what? Everything then changed. The professor became such a star. It was literally a thrilling experience. And I realised that I wanted the role of PD to become my life-long job.

⁴ Dong-Ju Yun (1917-1945) is a Korean poet, who is known for resistance poetry in the Japanese colonial era.

Interviewee OJ

The majority of interviewees revealed that, before entering the labour market, they had particular idealistic notions about the PD role. In particular, one of the most valued elements of the PD role among interviewees was the ability to have an impact on both audiences and the world.

You know, the entertainment programme PD is a job that brings fun and pleasure to audiences. I think being a PD is really a meaningful job as it makes people happy and makes them laugh. It actually enhances people's lives, I believe! Probably the role of PD is one of the best jobs that touches a human's mind.

Interviewee HS

Another interviewee expressed similar idealism in describing the ultimate goal of a PD.

I know this sounds silly, but my everlasting goal is to make a programme that has a good impact on global audiences. It would be enough—even for just a few seconds—if everybody in the world could see my programme...it is my final goal.

Interviewee JP

As we shall see, this kind of idealism, in which individuals wish to have a positive impact on audiences, tends to be accompanied by pressure to achieve good viewership ratings in later years. The idealistic notion of expressing one's own thoughts through a programme is also linked to the tendency in PDs to particularly value individual satisfaction in the working process and to develop their own style and personal taste preferences throughout their career development process. With these ideals about the PD job, PD candidates invest considerable amounts of both time and money in preparing to become a PD. However, they

do not only wish to actualise their idealism but they also seek a stable job with a good wage that has the potential to realise their dreams. To date, many researchers have argued that creative work has an attractive profile and it is this that lures people into the cultural/creative industries (Ursell, 2006). However, from my interviews, I observed that most PDs took a very practical approach to considering the type of work that would best fit their distinctive personality.

2.4.2. Emergence of an organisational identity (AD to Ordinary PD stage)

As is often the case in any occupation, to become established as an autonomous creative worker great perseverance is needed. Although each PD's experience of both job security and the crafting process varies, all PDs experience long-term on-the-job training (OJT) as an AD (Assistant Director)⁵ having entered a broadcasting organisation. Regardless of where they are employed, individuals are trained in the skills of a PD through the apprenticeship-like training system (so-called *Doje*⁶) during their time as an AD. Typically, in the on-the-job training of *Doje*, an immediate superior (usually a PD) is assigned to a new recruit and he or she takes responsibility for the AD's learning. At this stage, new recruits learn not only the basic skills of editing, directing, casting and communication, but also absorb plenty of implicit knowledge, such as the vocabulary, tacit rules and norms of the given organisation. In an environment that is strictly controlled by their superiors, the new recruits become familiarised with the particular culture of each organisation.

⁵ The term AD is, in some ways, inappropriate because an AD supports a PD throughout the whole production process. It may be more logical to use the terms, 'APD' or 'AP', but the term AD can be viewed as a custom that has developed in a non-English speaking country.

⁶ The *Doje* system is similar to that of the training process in the US film industry for project-based production teams, which offers small tasks to trainees and allows them to learn by watching their seniors in action (DeFillippi & Arthur, 1998).

All interviewees described their experiences in the AD period as 'challenging' but at the same time very 'enjoyable'. At first, interviewees were disillusioned when they realised that they did not have sufficient skills or knowledge to create an influential programme straight away and the majority of interviewees agreed that they were very disappointed when they found out that their initial role in the organisation was more like that of an errand boy. Interviewee SL described his experiences as follows:

When I was first assigned to the AD role, I just ran small errands for my immediate superior. Something like...carrying tapes, searching for information, or making coffee. I participated in production meetings but didn't actually do anything during that time; I just listened to others and made some notes.

Interviewee SL

In any form of broadcasting organisation, the life of an AD is characterised by an extremely heavy workload and poor working conditions. Most interviewees admitted that their early days as an AD were very stressful, such that it led them to doubt their choice of career.

Indeed, the experience of working as an AD did not align to interviewees' initial expectations of the job, nor their ideals about becoming a PD. It was not the heavy workload that disappointed them because that was their expectation of the PD role, but they became primarily disillusioned when they realised they would have little opportunity to make something 'real' at this stage, despite their belief that they were ready to make a brilliant programme. Such disappointment may be the reason why so many interviewees remember their first editing experience so favourably; for most, their first opportunity to edit something 'real' was their experience of making a short trailer for a programme, usually of around 30 seconds in length.

Whenever I showed the video clips that I edited to others, if they said it was interesting and fun, that was truly an enjoyable moment. I think I was always like that. When editing on my own, it was very hard to be sure about whether the film was actually fun or compelling; but when seniors or other colleagues confirmed that it was good, the anxiety and feelings of tension were all released at once. It was so good.

Interviewee SL

PDs also shared that they experienced true happiness when they first saw the video they had edited on air.

The most memorable moment...it may be the very first moment that I saw the trailer I made was actually on TV. It was truly amazing. Although it was a really short trailer, it was just a wonderful feeling that audiences would have watched the trailer that I filmed and edited on my own!

Interviewee EK

At this point, PDs began to identify themselves with the video they edited: the tendency to describe a programme (or short trailer) as 'mine' was observed in every interviewee. Even in a short video clip, they naturally expressed their own tastes and preferences; thus, showing the videos they made to others caused them to feel almost 'naked' as the videos they had edited were based on 'my' thoughts. However, this did not mean that they attempted to express their own 'pure' identity through the programme; rather, they wished to receive confirmation from people around them that their own way of making a video was accepted within the given organisational standards and the professional field.

Thus, we can see from these interviews that having had small opportunities to edit videos at

the AD stage, PDs become very sensitive to the reactions of viewers and their feedback. In the process, they naturally learn the shared aesthetic criteria of producing a programme. By identifying what is the 'right' way to deliver a message via video content, they begin to internalise a certain standard of programme making in their organisations. Yet this should not be interpreted as the disappearance of their own idealism or taste; rather, this tendency appears to be a temporary postponement of their own views in order to obtain a kind of certification to do the 'real' thing—that is, producing their own programme.

After a long period of training, at some point ADs are given the opportunity to become an Ordinary PD. At this stage, PDs begin to have much greater responsibility in the programme production process. However, they still cannot create a programme based on their own ideas: despite the fact that they are recognised to have most of the necessary explicit knowledge and skills, Ordinary PDs are not yet perceived as qualified to carry programme production from the incubation stage as a production team leader. PDs at this stage typically support the programme production process of their senior (Main PD) as a 'Second PD'; at the same time however, they prepare their own debut as a Main PD. Thus, it could be said that Ordinary PDs are still in on-the-job training, and every single task is perceived as a kind of test. Thus, they need to behave in accordance with the shared standard in the organisation to reach their ideal of making 'my' programme as a Main PD.

Interestingly, the majority of my interviewees stated that, before debuting as a Main PD, they experienced an 'explosion of unique ideas'. They believed the primary reason for this was that both ADs and Ordinary PDs are freed from the 'real' pressures facing Main PDs.

At that time, I had so many ideas...they were mostly unrealistic though. I wanted to achieve the world...Now I have forgotten how to imagine such unrealistic things.

Interviewee BM

Indeed, trainees do not only absorb the style of their superiors nor organisational preferences, but by watching and following the shared aesthetic standard, they come to develop their own tastes. Most interviewees, and I myself as a previous PD, admit that ADs and Ordinary PDs give flight to their own imagination as they support the performance of their seniors. Interviewee SL said this:

After observing and experiencing my superiors' own style of leadership and creating programmes, I thought I would be able to create something different and unique...different from them. The period of AD is not only about following and repeating the ways of your superiors. We autonomously think about what is exemplary and what we do not want to follow.

Interviewee SL

At the same time, during the AD and Ordinary PD period, many interviewees had experiences in which seniors stole their ideas.

In our company, we have an 'idea pitching' competition. Every PD must submit at least one programme proposal, including ADs and Ordinary PDs. While writing it, we all assume we will make the programme if it passes. But you know what? The reality is, one day, I came to see 'my' programme was on air, produced by another senior PD. After that, I did not tell my ideas to others. I just kept my ideas for the chance to make the programme on my own.

Interviewee HWS

It seems that PDs at this stage experience the emergence of an organisational identity by balancing the rules of the organisation and their individual idealism. The period of working as

an AD and Ordinary PD could be characterised as the socialisation process of a PD as an employed creative labourer. Through this process, individuals come to absorb the various norms and rules within both organisations and amongst other PDs. They also acquire shared standards and the aesthetics of programme production through the reactions of the people around them and their feedback. Although new recruits are at first often disillusioned by the lack of noteworthy work, they soon after come to realise that they need to temporarily set aside their own tastes and preferences for the opportunity to make something real in the future in which they are able to express their own vision. Over time, trainees both develop their own styles and taste preferences and also learn how to actualise these ideas with a shared language. If using van Zoonen's model of organisational identity (1998, p. 137), the emerging identity of a PD as an employed creative labourer could be illustrated as in Figure 2.3. PDs who initially have certain idealistic notions expressed as 'I', as an organisational member gradually come to have a perception of 'us'. However, as seen in the figure, the organisational identity is inherently fluid based on negotiations between the given structures and the subjectivity of an individual PD. Thus, this form of organisational identity is subject to change based on changes in either organisational circumstances or personal situations. As we shall see, at the Main PD stage, both structures and subjectivity change, leading to changes in the characteristics of organisational identity also.



Figure 2.3
The construction process of the organisational identity of a PD

2.4.3. Emergence of a professional identity (Main PD stage)

As an individual's career develops, an Ordinary PD becomes a Main PD with his/her own programme production. In the PD labour market, an individual's debut as a Main PD is known as 'Ip-bong' (입봉). This could be understood as a sort of ritual that celebrates the end of the training period. Typically, senior PDs or managers in an organisation confirm whether an Ordinary PD or AD has enough knowledge and experience to produce a single programme with full authority as a Main PD. The point at which an individual becomes a Main PD varies from three to ten years according to different genres and organisations. Interviewee HJ observed that it takes much longer to become a Main PD in a bigger company due to congestion of personnel. PDs who started their career as freelancers tend to have a somewhat different understanding of the debut⁷. However the term 'debut' or 'Ip-bong' herein refers to the time when a PD produces a programme as the first Main PD and handles the programme production from idea incubation to post-production stage.

Once established as a Main PD, PDs come to have relatively high levels of discretionary authority as a professional and take full responsibility for the results of programme production. Although most PDs are employees within a larger organisation, as a Main PD they are in many ways freed from supervision and the constraints of the organisation, being given responsibility to lead their production teams as qualified professionals. (To understand the multiple responsibilities of a PD, the typical responsibilities of a Main PD in the entertainment genre are provided in Appendix 4).

⁷ From my interviews, it appeared that freelance PDs understand the expression of 'Ip-bong' (debut as a Main PD) slightly differently to those PDs who are working as full-time employees at an established organisation. While the latter understands 'Ip-bong' as an official debut as a first Main PD, the former classify 'Ip-bong' as occurring when they are included in the PD section of a programme's end credits.

Those who have debuted as a Main PD become a trusted professional—one who is expected to have sufficient knowledge and skills to make any style of programme at the required level of quality. From a PD's perspective, this is the stage at which they feel confident with any given programme format.

The biggest difference is confidence. The primary responsibilities for me as a PD are controlling the production team and expressing my own views through the programme. What if the PD doesn't have confidence? It is really important. It makes us brave. And the confidence is based on our long career history.

Interviewee BM

At this stage, the gaps between individual PDs become larger and peers are perceived not only as colleagues but also as competitors. Indeed, since success (or otherwise) will be attached to their name for the remainder of their career, PDs need to imbue their name with excellence and uniqueness in the minds of both their employers and their audiences.

After moving to a new organisation, I needed to demonstrate my ability to make a programme efficiently and well. There are certain moments that we need to build trust within the organisation. At times like that, we do not try uncertain or unique ideas or experimental things. We should demonstrate the reliability of our performance first.

Interviewee SL

Some may interpret this phenomenon as a subordinate individual worker who cannot resist the given structure. From my interviews however, many understood such moments as another rite of passage to achieve a sufficient level of creative autonomy. They willingly set aside their own tastes and preferences to actualise their wishes to attain creative freedom

once a certain degree of trust had been constructed between themselves and the organisation. This behaviour not only occurred in the early days as a Main PD, but from time to time, PDs attempted to build such trust again to broaden the range of opportunities available to them.

It's a dualistic attitude. If I make a programme that leads to a higher viewership rating, I can produce what I want for at least one programme. I'd like to keep this kind of balance throughout the rest of my career. This is an attempt to raise the possibility of making a programme that I like.

Interviewee BM

Similarly, the majority of interviewees stated that they have a kind of dream proposal, which they wish to produce if external conditions are propitious to them. Likewise, for PDs, the confirmation of creative freedom that enables them to make a programme they like was perceived as a great reward. To achieve such a reward, they do not hesitate to make a programme for the organisation, even if it does not fit with their own preferences. At moments like this, the organisational identity becomes the most salient, but this does not mean that their individual and professional identities are subsumed. Rather, this could be interpreted as strategic career management. If PDs can successfully manage their career, the possibility of maintaining a higher level of creative autonomy increases. It is true that PDs who began their career in one of the few relatively stable organisations will have experienced more advantageous conditions from the outset (see Chapter 3); however, the power of an organisation alone does not guarantee that a well-qualified professional PD will automatically become an established Main PD. Indeed, half of the interviewees who began their careers as freelancers or part-time PDs within small production companies are now first Main PDs in established broadcasters. The majority of interviewees emphasised the

importance of maintaining their idealism, as this was the primary driving force that enabled them to endure the intensive training process and to continually develop their own style and creative capacity.

Likewise, reaching the final stage of career development as a Main PD does not mean that the ability to create new and valuable programmes is unconditionally guaranteed. Indeed, it is now that the real competition as a content creator begins and Main PDs must endlessly endeavour to produce creative and popular programmes that not only enhance their own reputation but also benefit the organisation. In this sense, a Main PD must recognise his/her three simultaneous statuses: a creative producer who continually seeks individual enjoyment in the creative process; an employed labourer who successfully negotiates between their ideal and reality; and a professional who tries to defend his/her discretionary rights over the production process by maintaining high ratings.

The interrelationships between these selves are always subject to change according to structural and subjective factors. Thus, a PD's multiple identities are not formulated in a fixed form but are inherently fluid. To achieve a satisfactory level of creative autonomy, PDs learn to balance various factors across their multiple selves (see Figure 2.4), and in the process, the subjective individual who attempts to maintain their own ideals holds the helm.

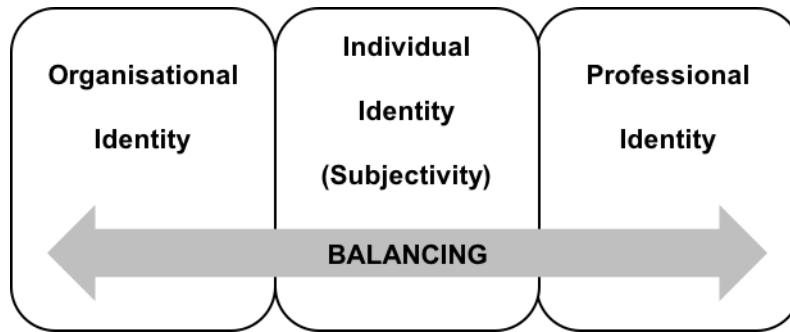


Figure 2.4
The three identities of a PD

In the following section, I will propose a new analytical framework of creative autonomy based upon the three identities of creative workers.

2.5. Proposing a new conceptual framework of creative autonomy

Based on the notion of the multiplicity of creative labourers, I would now like to propose an ideal-typical model of creative autonomy for this research. As seen above with the case of television PDs, creative autonomy is rarely taken for granted but is negotiated throughout the career of a creative worker. Thus, a typical career path within creative labour should first be considered to understand the interrelated relationships between the three different identities of creative workers.

Although the path of a creative career cannot easily be generalised, most creative professionals have experienced similar stages in the path to become established in a particular field. Jones' (1996) articulation of the four stages of a project-based career based on the US film industry may provide a foundation for modelling the career path of creative workers. She identified the career stages as: *beginning*, *crafting*, *navigating*, and *maintaining*. After successfully entering into the highly competitive job market (*beginning*),

creative workers must both acquire necessary skills and learn the specific culture and work quality criteria through long-term on-the-job training (crafting). By the navigating stage, creative workers are expected to develop specialised skills and to establish their reputation amongst peer networks. At the maintaining stage, creative labourers should not only extend the industrial network by producing professional quality creative work but they must also maintain a good balance between their professional and personal lives. If applying this model to the PD's career trajectory, we can map each career development stage to the model as outlined in Figure 2.5.

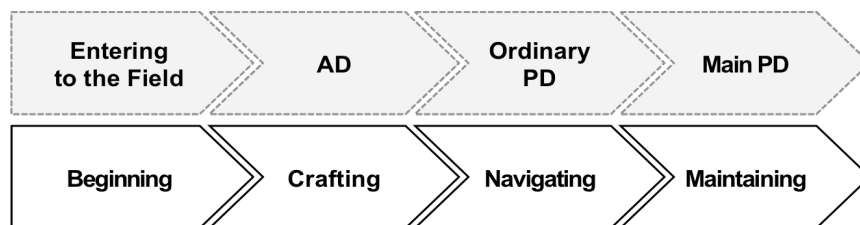


Figure 2.5
The four stages of career development for a PD

2.5.1. Individual Identity (Creative Self)

As discussed above, creative workers have strong intrinsic motivations to hold a creative job long before entering into the sector. Their intrinsic motivation as a 'pure' self generates a certain idealism about creative jobs, especially regarding occupational roles and their ultimate goals as an individual. Such intrinsic motivation also becomes the primary driver when enduring a challenging work environment and is the main stimulus of creativity. From the beginning, creative workers have an ongoing desire to attain sufficient autonomy to pursue their innate drive, and I identify this individual identity as 'creative self'.

2.5.2. Organisational Identity (Employed Creative Labourer)

Cultural products produced by creative workers come to life through approved distribution channels or network organisations, meaning that most creative workers are necessarily employed by a wider organisation, whether full-time or part-time/freelance. As discussed above, creative workers begin to construct their organisational identity after entering into the labour market. After recognising the shared criteria of the aesthetic and commercial value of a product within an organisation (usually, in the case of a PD, this has been achieved by the time they become an Ordinary PD), creative workers come to have a desire to autonomously achieve a good balance between structural limitations and subjective desires. I identify this organisational identity as 'employed creative labourer'.

2.5.3. Professional Identity (Creative Professional)

As seen above, after being established as a Main PD, PDs come to have a relatively high level of autonomy as a professional with substantial responsibility over the production process. To maintain and enhance the level of professional autonomy, PDs seek to attain increasing levels of trust from their employers by conforming to the employers' requirements and thus establishing a positive reputation. However, their subjective drive to actualise their own creative ideas nonetheless continues and it is, in part, the pursuit of self-actualisation that fuels the drive to elicit trust. I identify this professional identity as 'creative professional'.

During the maintaining stage, creative labourers therefore come to experience multiple identities as the 'pure' self (individual), employed labour (organisational), and professional, and they nurture their own strategies to balance simultaneous desires. In the process, the level of creative autonomy is negotiated and balanced. On this basis, a new analytical framework of creative autonomy is outlined in Figure 2.6.

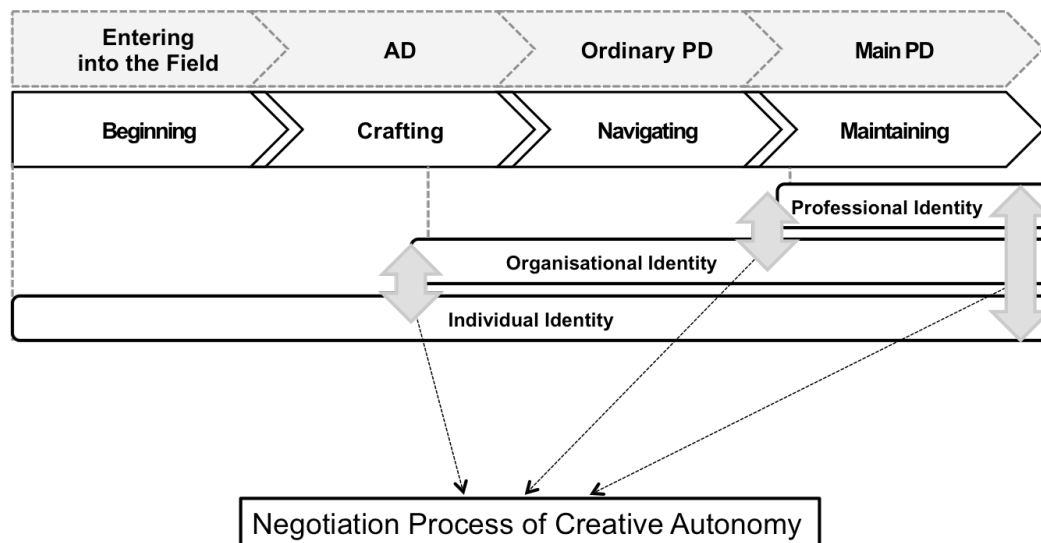


Figure 2.6
A New Analytical Framework of Creative Autonomy

By applying this new concept of creative autonomy, we are able to identify a strong possibility that creative autonomy can be negotiated and maintained in the creative production process. Again, this research is founded on the premise that individuals have the capacity to bring about a progressive future in the creative industries, and I strongly believe that the core value of the industry lies in intrinsically motivated creative labourers. As creative workers form multiple identities throughout their career, they naturally absorb a variety of values within the industry and these are reflected in the evolution of their innate motivations. If we acknowledge the likelihood a reality as expressed in this model of creative autonomy could exist, individual creative workers should be able to bring about continuous innovation not only for themselves, but also for organisations, and eventually, for the industry as a whole. In Chapter 5, I will examine such possibilities by analysing interviews with current Main PDs in light of this new model of creative autonomy.

CH 3. An Overview of the Korean Entertainment Television Industry

As Miège (1989) noted, there are ‘subtle but great differences’ across numerous fields and roles within the cultural industries. The new framework for creative autonomy and the multiple identities of creative labourers that I have suggested in Chapter 2 is itself predicated upon a specific social and historical context. This chapter therefore aims to provide background about the Korean entertainment television industry, which is a necessary context for the following discussion on creative autonomy of PDs in Chapter 5. First, considering the fact that the primary research subject of the current study, namely the position of PD (which is a largely organisation-based role), was brought about through the particular historical background of the first Korean military-led government in the 1960s, I will briefly introduce the history of the Korean television industry (Section 3.1). An account of the Korean entertainment show genre in television, which is the primary industrial field of the upcoming discussion, is then presented (Section 3.2). Finally, to provide a general overview of the PD labour market, the chapter examines the traditional structure of the labour market and summarises the tendency toward class distinction among PD workers in the current television industry (Section 3.3).

3.1. The historical background of the Korean television industry

3.1.1. The beginning of the broadcasting industry

1) JODK (1927-1947)

The first broadcaster in Korea was Kyungsung Broadcasting Network (hereinafter JODK⁸),

⁸ JODK was the call sign of Kyungsung Broadcasting Network. The prefix characters ‘JO’ are the standard call sign for Japanese broadcasters. The Japanese Governor-General of Korea (조선총독부, 朝鮮總督府) set the call signs for Tokyo, Osaka, and Nagoya broadcasting services as ‘JOAK’, ‘JOBK’, and ‘JOCK’ respectively, and

which was established in February 1927, during the Japanese colonial period (which took place between 29th August 1910 and 15th August 1945). JODK began as a radio broadcasting service and served as a tool with which to influence the Korean people to conform to the Japanese government and culture (Han, 2013). Despite this underlying purpose, Kim (2007) interestingly observed that JODK was a semi-governmental operation with largely commercial management approaches based on subscription charges. To attract more Korean subscribers, JODK initiated dual language broadcasting (Korean and Japanese) in 1933. The intention of the dual-language service policy was to obtain financing for stronger rule over Korea and in preparation for war. After Korea achieved independence in 1945, Korea took over the broadcaster under the supervision of the US army military government (15th September 1945), and changed the call sign to KBS – “This is Seoul Korea Key Station of the Korean Broadcasting System” – and this became the first Korean radio broadcasting station. In September 1947, Korea received a new broadcasting call sign, ‘HL’, from the International Radiotelegraph Conference in Atlanta (Han, 2013).

2) HLZK-TV (1956-1961)

HLZK-TV, which was launched on 12th May 1956, was the first television broadcasting service of Korea. With HLZK, Korea became the fifteenth country to launch television broadcasting worldwide, and the fourth in Asia (Han, 2013). In the US, the commercial broadcasting system was not a natural consequence but a system intentionally chosen by societal decision makers for both the nation and the economy (Douglas, 1987/1989; McChesney, 1993; Streeter, 1994, cited in Baek et al., 2008). Similarly, in Korea, the very

requested that the call sign of Kyungseong Broadcasting Network should be ‘JODK’, to show that Korea was occupied by Japan (Kim, 2015).

decision to set up the broadcasting service was encouraged by a handful of technological elites who respected developed Western culture. In addition, the government encouraged the launch of a television service as this would help upcoming presidential election campaigns in 1956 (Yu et al., 2007). At the time, Korea was largely dependent on economic aid from the United States, and the launch of HLKZ was also reliant on US media professionals, such as Joseph Miller who was HLKZ's president. The official title of the broadcaster was KORCAD (Korea Office RCA Distributor), which means that HLKZ was a Korean branch office of the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) (Yu et al., 2007). The transmission range of this broadcasting service was very limited (only 15 metres from the broadcasting building), and the broadcaster suffered financial difficulties from the outset. Also, due to the fact that a television set was too expensive for ordinary people⁹, the first television programmes were designed to be watched collectively in the streets: HLKZ installed 24-inch television sets at 22 public spots in Seoul, including Pagoda Park, Sajik Park and Seoul Train Station Plaza (Yu, 1998). The leader of the HLKZ production team, Chang-Bong Choi, looked back upon his experience of the collective culture and recalled it vividly.

Every night, while directing the live programmes, we calculated the size of the audience outside the broadcasting building. When we had a great number of viewers on Jongak street, we were excited, but if not, we were quite disappointed.

Chang-Bong Choi (Interview cited in Yu et al., 2007, p. 442)

⁹ At that time, according to the Commodity Tax Law (1957), the excise duty of a television set was 186%. A 14-inch television set was 340,000 Korean Hwan (old Korean currency) – when considering that the price of a bag of rice (80kg) was 18,000 Korean Hwan, we can assume that the television set was a luxury item for ordinary people (Kim, 2007, p. 1).

Even in this poor broadcasting environment, it is possible to see that television producers were very sensitive to the level of audience reaction to their programmes. In the later parts of this research, such a tendency within creative labourers will be more clearly observed through the case of viewership figures (see Chapter 5.1).

Since the private broadcaster HLKZ was dependent on advertising revenues, it was inevitable that it would suffer massive financial difficulties from the outset. In 1957, HLKZ-TV was acquired by the owner of Hankook Ilbo (a newspaper company), and its name was changed to DBC-TV (Daehan Broadcasting Corporation). However, in 1959, the broadcasting building was substantially destroyed by fire, and DBC-TV was only able to continue the broadcasting service with the help of AFKN-TV. Despite such stoicism, DBC-TV eventually closed its business in 1961 after the majority of its directors and producers had been recruited to launch the state-run television service of KBS-TV (Han et al., 2013).

3.1.2. The development process of the Korean broadcasting industry:

Military government and the expansion of the broadcasting industry: 1960s-1980s

Overall, the long period of the military government considerably influenced the whole structure of the Korean television industry. In the early days of television history, the government sought to vitalise the industry through various government-led campaigns. First and foremost, the launch of the first state-run broadcasting service was the consequence of decisions taken by the military government. KBS-TV's launch was designed to celebrate the completion of a military coup by Chung-Hee Park in May 1961; there is also a generally held belief that the real purpose of the launch was to offend North Korea (Yu et al., 2007). It is also widely known that the finances needed to establish KBS-TV were procured through the

capture of a North Korean government agent, Tae-Sung Hwang, whose fine for spying in South Korea amounted to approximately US \$220,000 (Baek et al., 2008).

Given the largely oppressed social atmosphere, it was natural that the founding members of KBS-TV were selected by the military government and controlled by the state (Cho, 2008). In September 1961, the military government announced their intention to launch a state-run broadcasting service but had no fixed plan; instead, the government scouted Chan-Bong Choi from HLKZ to become the leader of the KBS-TV founding team. Choi was a distinctive media professional who had both studied the media industries and experienced the US television production system. As mentioned above, Choi had also experienced the first launch of the Korean television broadcaster at HLKZ as a Chief Producer. According to an interview with Choi, although he insisted that at least one year would be needed to set up a new broadcasting station, the military government offered only three months (Baek et al., 2008). The improvised launch of KBS-TV was barely completed on 25th December 1961, and the government entitled it a 'Christmas gift' for the nation. However, the infrastructures were very poor due to the hasty launch, and during the first year and a half, KBS-TV had only two cameras (Yu et al., 2007). As shall be seen later, the creative position of PD first emerged during the early days of KBS-TV.

Despite the improvised launch process, the advent of the state-run broadcaster brought a new culture of television and the development of the broadcasting market. With the assertive promotion policies of the television industry, the Korean broadcasting industry gradually grew throughout the nation. While Korean people viewed television as a status symbol of the societal upper class, for the government, the expansion of the television market was seen to be a powerful driver with which to promote and enforce military-led government power. The government authorised not only the launch of two private television broadcasters, DTV

(1964) and MBC-TV (1969), but also allowed collaborative ownership of government-friendly newspapers and broadcasters (Kyunghyang Newspaper and MBC; Joongang Newspaper and TBC) (KBS, 1997; MBC, 1982). MBC was first authorised only as an educational broadcasting service, but the government permitted the broadcaster to become commercial in nature from 1970 (Han et al., 2013). And in 1973, through the amendment of Broadcast Law, KBS-TV became a public broadcasting organisation, and was thereafter known as KBS.

During the era of military government, extensive controls were placed over opposition-minded broadcasters, including DBS and CBS (Yu et al., 2007). Such controls were linked to the Basic Press Act and the National Security Act¹⁰ of the second military government of Doo-Hwan Chun, both legislated in 1980¹¹. Under the Basic Press Act, the government combined numerous private media agencies (including newspapers, periodicals and broadcasters) into a few state-run institutions and, in the process, fired thousands of journalists and PDs. Such an approach to media policy continued until the end of Chun's military government in 1987 (Kim, 1991).

Although these military-led administrations restricted freedom of speech in the nation, it was nonetheless true that the foundation of the media industry became noticeably more established during this time. Moreover, entertainment genres (such as drama and entertainment programmes) developed substantially: as we shall see in the next section, many television dramas and entertainment programmes were successfully launched during

¹⁰ In Korean language, this is known as '언론통폐합(言論統廢合)'.

¹¹ President Chung-Hee Park was assassinated on 26th October 1979, and his military-led government had ended. However, on 12th December, Doo-Hwan Chun occupied the Ministry of Defence and Army HQ, and he became the de facto leader of the country. This was the second military-led government of Korea, and it continued until 1987.

the military-led dictatorship period, and Korean television audiences began to enjoy television content as part of their everyday life.

3.1.3. Democratisation and changes within the television industry: 1987-Present

A democratisation movement of students and citizens that sought to amend the constitution to allow direct presidential elections (the prevention of which had allowed Chun to retain his presidential position for another term) eventually led to an uprising against the military government¹², and on 29th June 1987, the presidential nominee Roh Tae-Woo announced the Declaration of Political Reforms, which allowed Korean citizens to elect a president directly. In October, the revised constitution was approved, and the long reign of the military-led government came to an end. At this time, the broadcasting industry also experienced substantial changes. The Basic Press Act was scrapped, and a new Broadcasting Act was enacted on 28th November. Since then, the democratisation of the media industry has intensified.

At the same time, the new government reformed the structure of the broadcasting industry by allowing the launch of private broadcasters, and on 9th December 1991, SBS—one of the most established private terrestrial broadcasters today—was launched. From this moment, KBS, MBC and SBS have been known as the ‘three major terrestrial broadcasters’ (in

¹² President Chun attempted to block the democratisation movement in society and to prevent an amendment to the constitution to accept direct presidential elections. To do so, the Chun regime suppressed the democratisation movements of students and activists as a ‘riot committed by communist revolutionaries’, and the government violated the human rights of protesters: approximately 1,300 students were arrested, and the Chun regime used torture habitually. One of the students of Seoul National University, Jong-Cheol Park, died due to dreadful torture in early 1987, and this became the point at which the democratisation movement became the nationwide June Democratic Uprising (6월 민주 항쟁). This movement eventually achieved democratic transition to the new administration of Tae-Woo Roh through direct election (Yu, 1998).

Korean language, '주요 지상파 3사'). In 1995, the level of commercialisation in the broadcasting industry gradually increased with the launch of the cable television network and private local broadcasters. Then in 1997, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism subsequently announced a plan to promote the broadcasting and media industry, and this facilitated a massive increase in the number of small production companies (Han et al., 2013). In 2001, media platforms were further diversified with the start of the digital broadcasting service, and in 2006, the three major terrestrial broadcasters launched the Digital Multimedia Broadcasting (DMB) service, which allowed audiences to enjoy television content via mobile devices (Yu et al., 2007). More recently, in 2011, the government authorised the launch of four cable CPCs, which are all based on newspaper-broadcaster affiliations (JTBC with Joongang Ilbo; TV Chosun with Chosun Ilbo; Channel A with Donga Ilbo; and MBN with Maeil Economics). Unlike other more typical cable channels, these CPCs are allowed to produce all kinds of programme genres (including entertainment shows and dramas), which has in turn affected changes in the entertainment PD labour market since.

3.1.4. The accidental formation of the PD position: a historical perspective

The PD position, which is the primary research subject of this study, is built on the particular historical background of the Korean television industry. Amongst Korean PDs, the term 'PD' is considered to be rather ambiguous and many use the term interchangeably with that of 'Producer'. A few previous studies share the assumption that the abbreviation PD stands for various combinations of words: Planning Director; Programme Director; Producing Director; or Producer-Director (Cho et al., 2000; Lee, 1993). Amongst these, Producer-Director has been thought to be the most optimal understanding of the role as a PD both produces and directs a programme (Lee, 1993). The study by Baek et al. (2008) based upon oral interviews with a few early PDs in KBS also supports this definition. Interestingly, the unique

position of PD today, which ideally requires a substantial level of creative autonomy, was seemingly formed at the very start of Korean broadcasting history, during which time there was a far from autonomous working culture.

Like the improvised launch of KBS-TV, the formation of the PD position was an unexpected result of governmental intervention. As discussed previously, Directors from HLKZ-TV, including Chang-Bong Choi, designed the initial production system of KBS-TV. Meanwhile, the government also employed new recruits to become assistants to these Directors and called them Producers. In the American television production system, Producers are in overall charge of both pre-production and production, drawing on their own individual networks and specialised experiences. As such, it was hard to expect new recruits to function as effective Producers. According to Jeong-Tae Hwang, who was a KBS-TV Director from HLKZ-TV, new employees could not properly learn the role of Producer due to a lack of human resource and experience (Baek et al., 2008, p. 217). Indeed, newly employed 'Producers' became involved in the production process as trainees who learned by watching.

Unexpectedly, in February 1962 and shortly after the launch of KBS-TV, the military government reformed KBS-TV by firing all specialists from HLKZ-TV in order to both set up the organisational structure as a government agency and to keep the production process under government control. Existing Producers (who had been new recruits) were therefore required to take up the Directors' responsibilities and the roles of Producer and Director were naturally combined. Throughout this process, the majority of tasks were formed around the Director's role (as opposed to that of Producer) due to the perception that Directors were more influential: the role of Producer was regarded as more administrative and less important. Although these findings are based on a single research study of the history of the Korean broadcasting production system, considering the scarcity of studies on the early

years of television production in Korea, it would be hard to assert that Baek and colleagues' (2008) qualitative study has little credibility, particularly given that intensive interviews were conducted with PDs who were there at the start of KBS-TV. Thus, there is a strong possibility that the term PD was first created at KBS-TV and it is upon this foundation that today's organisation-based production system and PD career path has been built.

3.2. The entertainment genre in the Korean television industry

Entertainment programmes may be one of the easiest genres for audiences to access. Since the genre typically deals with light and familiar stories for unspecified individuals, entertainment shows naturally reflect the 'moments' that ordinary people experience in their daily lives. Particularly in Korea, it appears that the development process of the entertainment television genre is in line with social and political changes, as well as advances throughout modern and contemporary history. From this perspective, the present discussion aims to understand the historical background of entertainment television shows since the outset of the television industry to the present day, and to provide a necessary context within which to discuss the specificity of PD labour in the entertainment genre. In addition, by identifying the links between the recent high levels of innovation in the genre and the horizontal relationships within the entertainment production team, I will ensure that the main research subject of this study (entertainment television Main PDs) is appropriate to examine the issues of creative autonomy during the creative production process.

3.2.1. The changing role of entertainment television programmes

1) Before democratisation: a tool to distract people from the dark reality

As described earlier in Chapter 3.1, the majority of Korean people began to enjoy television culture from the 1970s after television sets were widely distributed thanks to assertive

promotion policies by the government. A family room in a typical Korean house began to be known as the 'home theatre' (안방극장), where all the family members could gather together around a television set. During this time, the level of development of both drama and entertainment show programmes was unprecedented, and television content became absorbed into people's lives. For instance, due to the massive popularity of *The Lady* (아씨), a television drama created by TBC and aired in 1970, the Seoul Police Agency even created a warning spot for television that said, "Be sure to lock the door to be on guard against thieves, and to check again that the tap is turned off before watching *The Lady*" (FKBC, 1991). Entertainment shows also gained a high level of popularity, and one of the most widely known programmes was TBC's *Show Show Show* (1964-1983), which was a live performance show with popular singers at the time (such as Chooja Kim, Youngnam Cho, and Patti Kim). With this programme, ordinary television audiences became familiarised with cultural performances, something that it had been hard for such audiences to experience previously (Yu et al., 2007).

Somewhat ironically, these new enjoyable experiences began under the strict social control of the military-led government. As briefly indicated earlier, both the military-led governments of Chung-Hee Park and Doo-Hwan Chun used entertainment television as a tool to promote the legitimacy of a government that had been set up through a military coup. Both governments also took advantage of the popularity of the entertainment genre to distract people's attention away from unjustified policies (Yu et al., 2007). For instance, when President Park amended the constitution to continue his presidential reign in 1969¹³, the

¹³ This is known as 'October Yushin (시월유신, 十月維新)'. With the Third Republic's constitution, the presidential period was limited to two terms (each of 5 years). However, having already served two terms as president, President Chung-Hee Park amended the constitution in October 1969, thereby allowing him to continue his presidential status for another term. Under this new constitution, he was re-elected in the 1971 presidential election.

length of the entertainment programme, *Show, Show, Show* (TBC), was extended substantially. Similarly, soon after Doo-Hwan Chun's administration forcibly introduced the Basic Press Act in 1980, the percentage of entertainment show programmes dramatically increased in February 1981 (KBS 1TV increased the proportion of entertainment shows from 23.7% to 34% , while KBS 2TV increased the proportion from 25.1% to 47%) (Yu et al., 2007, p. 467). Likewise, during the military dictatorship period, an enjoyment of television was a kind of escapism from the dark reality for audiences, while for the governments it was a tool to distract ordinary people's attention away from unreasonable political and social controls.

During this period, although Korean audiences began to derive enjoyment from television culture, the relationship between content provider and viewers was broadly a one-way system. Television production was perceived as a space in which only extraordinary people could participate, and the content of programmes was largely informative and intended to lead audiences in a certain direction (Woo, 2011). However, this began to change as Korean society experienced the country's transition to democracy following the presidential election in 1987.

2) After democratisation: a mirror of the lives of ordinary people

After experiencing massive social and political changes with the democratic transition of the nation (see Chapter 3.1), the entertainment genre of the television industry gradually entered into an unprecedented period of development. The previously authoritarian and intentionally directive ethos of television content dissipated, and the level of diversity of entertainment programmes began to dramatically increase. Especially since the entertainment genre was perceived as existing solely for profit rather than the betterment of society, interventions by

both organisations and political powers were much less frequent here than in other genres (Woo, 2011). Thus, after the broadcasting industry had been liberated from the military-led government, entertainment programme production teams achieved almost full authority over the production process.

Unlike other television genres (such as documentaries or dramas), entertainment show programmes have undergone huge shifts and developments in formats during the past forty years. While most programmes in the 1970s and 1980s followed simple formats, such as music performances (for example, TBC's *Show Show Show* and MBC's *Show 2000*) or comedy shows with short gag lines (for example, *Show Video Jockey* and *Humour Street 1* of KBS2), attempts to produce different formats can be observed from the 1990s onward. The emergence of guest talk shows with a single presenter (such as MBC's *Sunday Sunday Night* and *Show Saturday Express* of KBS1) changed the traditional formula of entertainment shows. Soon after, talk shows evolved into the format of collective chat shows (for example, *Seo Sewon Show* of KBS; *Sangsang Plus* of KBS; and *Ya Shim Man Man* of SBS), and the popularity and economic power of entertainment television programmes substantially increased.¹⁴ From 2000 onward, the new format of reality and variety shows arose (including MBC's *Infinite Challenge* and *1 Night 2 Days* of KBS2) and there was an explosion in the star agency business. At the same time, with the popularisation of the Internet and the emergence of a new culture of online audience communities, entertainment show programmes became a communication tool for ordinary people, and this resulted in a significant shift in market and social power as compared to other genres. More recently, in the 2010s, the reality programme format has been linked to talent competitions (for example, TvN's *Super Star K*, and SBS's *K-Pop Star*); parenting (for example, *The Return of*

¹⁴ The extent to which these formats were copied from abroad will be covered in the next section.

Superman of KBS2, and *Oh! My Baby* of SBS); and cookery shows (including JTBC's *Take care of my Fridge* and SBS's *Three Kings*). Consequently, as we shall see, the export market for entertainment programme formats has expanded substantially and the market influence of the genre continues.

In the past, there was a tendency to treat entertainment programmes with contempt due to a belief that entertainment was light, superficial, and lacking in positive impact on society. At the time of writing however, the social and economic influences of the entertainment genre are matchless. The dialogue of an actress in the KBS-2TV drama *Produsa* (프로듀사) in 2015, which dealt with the working life of entertainment PDs at a terrestrial broadcaster, clearly depicted the current status of entertainment show programmes.

So far, I've looked down on entertainment programmes. But I realised that people began to recognise me after I appeared in the show. Before that, even though I've appeared in countless dramas over the past 10 years, nobody recognised me.

(In KBS2 drama 'Produsa', cited in Hwang, 2015)

Unlike other television genres, entertainment shows speak the everyday language that ordinary people use and naturally reflect shifts and trends within society. Moreover, with reality programme formats, entertainment shows function as a kind of trendsetter through the advice and suggestions they give to audiences, from leisure activities to asset management. However, communication with the audience is not a one-way street: while entertainment shows do indeed influence both audiences and society, social trends and audience behaviour likewise affect entertainment content. Woo (2011) used the expression, 'a kind of collective evolution', to describe such recent phenomena. In other words, having been

liberated from political censorship after the transition to democracy, entertainment shows have become a voice for the public by capturing ordinary people's lives.

3) From copying to exporting:

the development of Korean entertainment television and its relationship with foreign television programmes

Increased independence from foreign programmes

As indicated earlier, when KBS-TV was launched in 1961 it was not only the facilities and resources that were insufficient for the production of an original programme but also the capacity of the production teams. In the early days, both state-run and private broadcasters were by and large dependent on foreign programmes, particularly from America, and such dependence continued until 1969 (Lee, 2004). In the 1970s, after MBC was launched (see Chapter 3.1), ratings competition among the broadcasters intensified, and broadcasters began to invest in the production of local programmes (mostly daily dramas) to capture audience attention. Although the quality of Korean dramas did not compete with that of foreign programmes due to limited budgets and production resources, Korean soap operas started to gain in popularity (Yu et al., 2007). Broadcasters therefore began to schedule original Korean content in primetime slots (between 7.30pm and 8.30pm), and moved foreign programmes to time slots that were relatively less popular (for example, late at night on weekdays) (Lee, 2004). At the same time, television sets became widely distributed during the 1970s under the assertive promotion of the military-led government as mentioned previously. With the growth of both the size of the audience and production resources/technologies, Korean broadcasters continued to increase the number of original Korean programmes in their schedules, and in doing so, reliance upon foreign programmes

gradually declined from the late 1990s (see Table 3.1)¹⁵.

Year	Amount (US \$'000)	Rate of Increase (%)
1995	26,043	31.1
1996	34,267	31.5
1997	38,893	13.5
1998	15,386	-60.4
1999	20,094	30.6
2000	26,743	33
2001	18,032	-32.5

Table 3.1
Import of programmes by television networks
(Source: Korean Ministry of Culture and Tourism, cited in Lee, 2004, p. 39)

Unlicensed copying and redeveloping of Japanese entertainment programmes

After SBS was launched in 1991, ratings competition amongst the three major terrestrial broadcasters once again intensified, and television companies sought to find a way to produce original Korean programmes more effectively. At the time, the Japanese television industry was perceived to be an ideal role model for Korean broadcasters as it seemed to have successfully entered into the global television market¹⁶ (Iwabuchi, 2004). In addition, many Korean programme creators believed that Japanese television programmes would be more culturally familiar to Korean audiences as compared to American programmes, as Japan is also an Asian country. The import of Japanese popular culture was however banned,¹⁷ but due to the fact that the Internet was not yet popularised, it was relatively easy

¹⁵ The increase in early 2000 reflects the emergence of cable and satellite television channels that imported foreign programmes to stabilise their channels.

¹⁶ The Japanese television industry achieved early success in the global television market with a 'culturally odourless' content strategy. By presenting non-Japaneseness in television programmes, Japan was able to successfully export their programme formats to numerous foreign countries from the late 1980s onward (Jung & Kim, 2008).

¹⁷ Following liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945, the Korean government banned the import of

to copy Japanese entertainment shows without paying the proper licence fee. Amongst experienced PDs in the Korean entertainment television industry, it is a well-known fact that both PDs and writers frequently embarked upon business trips to Japan to watch and to record new Japanese programmes while staying in a small hotel room. The majority of interviewees in the present study were also aware of such practices in the early Korean entertainment television industry.

During the 1990s, the rate at which Japanese entertainment shows were copied in Korean entertainment programme productions was therefore very high, and it was suspected that a total of 46 entertainment programmes were plagiarised in this decade (Lee, 2004). Although the imitation of Japanese entertainment shows was an open secret within the industry, it was hard to take a legal action against such plagiarism because of the official import prohibition on Japanese television programmes at the time. When a programme was accused of plagiarism, broadcasters were able to elude allegations by simply changing or removing the problematic segments or adapting the whole programme concept. As long as Korean audiences remained unaware of these copying practices—presumably before the widespread adoption of the Internet—attitudes toward copying were very bold. In the 1990s, there were several cases in which the whole concept of a programme was an almost identical replica of a Japanese programme, and Lee (2004) described this type of copying as ‘cloning’ (see Table 3.2).

Japanese popular culture (including drama, movies, television content and so on). From 1998, Korea began to gradually accept Japanese cultural exports, but terrestrial broadcasters are still restricted in their broadcast of Japanese dramas, movies, and music.

Japanese Programmes - original	Korean Programmes - copied
Quiz, the Magical Brain Power (NTV)	Challenge, the Mystery Express (MBC, 1993)
One Million Yen Quiz Hunter (NTV)	Get Household Goods (SBS, 1993)
Tokyo Friend Park 2 (TBC)	Game Show, High Five (SBS, 1999)

Table 3.2
Cloned Korean copycat programmes in the 1990s
(Adapted from Lee, 2004)

In addition to cloning, Korean entertainment television producers also partially borrowed or redeveloped many concepts from Japanese programmes. Regarding such tendencies of copying, Lee (2004) observed two further types: developing and collaging. Developing is the process of creating an original programme by applying or extending a particular section of a Japanese programme, while collaging combines multiple Japanese programme concepts into a newly packaged programme. For example, in 1998, SBS's *Seo Sewon's Making a Good World* copied two segments from TBS's Japanese programme, *Samma's Super Trick TV* (Lee, 2014), namely 'Silver Quiz' and 'Video Letter', which depicted hilarious scenes of elderly people living in the countryside. An example of developing, to begin, the programme concept itself was almost identical, but as the Korean programme grew in popularity, the Korean production extended the length of the segments and injected somewhat different approaches that reflected the actual lives of the elderly in the villages (Lee, 2004). Although *Seo Sewon's Making a Good World* was accused of plagiarism, ironically the programme was awarded 'Best Programme of the Year' by Journalists' Choice (Yonhap, 1998).

Meanwhile, many Korean entertainment shows blended multiple concepts from Japanese

shows into a new package¹⁸. For instance, SBS's *Paradise for Curiosity* was suspected of copying various Japanese infotainment programmes, such as *Alarm-Clock TV* (Fuji TV), *Experiment and Nod* (NHK), *Great Discovery* (ANB), *The Laws of Fear* (ANB), *The Great Aru Aru Cyclopedia* (Fuji TV), *Doroko's Megaten* (NTV), and so on (Lee, 2004, pp. 44-45). *Paradise for Curiosity* followed the basic concept of the above Japanese shows, but it gave a different role to presenters and attempted to reframe the programme in a new way. Although it undoubtedly copied several Japanese programmes, Korean audiences experienced it as a new format in entertainment shows and the programme ran until 2002.

Due to the long-term influence of Japanese entertainment television, Korean entertainment shows still have many similarities with Japanese shows. For instance, many Korean entertainment shows typically have captions throughout the show, which is a distinctive characteristic of Japanese entertainment programmes (see Figures 3.1 and 3.2). Such an editing style seems unfamiliar to Western audiences. When the British Channel 4 entertainment programme, *The Greatest Shows on Earth*, investigated a Korean entertainment show (*Infinite Challenge*), the presenter, Daisy, was surprised by the quantity of captions in a single programme: "During each show, on-screen captions pop-up at every opportunity to maximise comedy titbits" (Channel4, 2013).

¹⁸ Lee (2014) identified this type of copying as 'collaging'.



Figure 3.1

A typical caption in a Korean entertainment television programme
(Captured from Infinite Challenge, Lee, 2015)



Figure 3.2

A typical caption in a Japanese entertainment television programme
(Captured from Youtube Clip, Shin, 2015)

Nonetheless, in the late 1990s, broadcasters began to purchase official licences for foreign programme formats (including Japanese, American, and European formats) due to concerns about possible accusations of plagiarism (Lee, 2004). Korean entertainment television PDs soon realised however that the simple application of a given format is insufficient for the programme to be well received by Korean audiences, and they began to develop

'Koreanised' ways of delivering foreign content. Such experiences became an opportunity to not only acquire advanced knowledge and technologies from foreign programmes, but also to develop particular concepts for editing and producing a programme for Korean audiences. Presumably, this process was the core foundation for the recent growth of Korean entertainment show programmes in the global format market.

Exporting entertainment programme formats in the global market

The global market for television programme formats has experienced continuous development since the 1990s, and in 2013, the top one hundred programme formats in the European market created \$2,931,000,000 in economic value (ETS et al., 2014). Considering the gradual decrease in the scale of the world television advertisement industries, such constant growth in the global format market suggests that the scale of the format business could continually increase in the future. The Korean entertainment television industry is a relative newcomer in the global format market, but one that has recently shown dramatic growth. Between 2011 and 2013, the average annual growth rate of Korean format exports was 105 per cent, and in 2013, the growth rate was 139 per cent upon the previous year (\$30,909,000 in total) (KOCCA, 2015).

The primary players in the programme format industry are relatively established broadcasters: namely, the three major terrestrial broadcasters (KBS, MBC, and SBS); JTBC of Joongang Media; and CJ E&M (KOCCA, 2015). Both CJ E&M and JTBC have assertively launched new programme formats since 2013 to compete with the three major terrestrial broadcasters. In 2013, 36 new programme formats were produced by the above five organisations, and in 2014, a total of 17 new formats were launched. To date, the largest export market is China, and the core genre in the export market is entertainment shows. For

instance, in 2014, KBS officially exported the programme format for *1 Night 2 Days*¹⁹ to China through a 'full package', which not only exported the format itself but also dispatched specialist PDs and technological staff to assist in the Chinese production process. MBC also exported two formats for successful entertainment programmes to China between 2012 and 2013: *I am a Singer* and *Dad! Where Are You Going?*. The ratings of the Chinese version of *Dad! Where Are You Going?* are reported to be more than 5% every week²⁰, and the programme title has been nominated as a hot issue on the popular Chinese social network site, Weibo (KOCCA, 2015). Meanwhile, among cable network broadcasters, CJ E&M successfully exported TvN's *Better Late Than Never* not only to China but also numerous Western countries (including America, France, Finland, Denmark, Germany, and Australia) (KOCCA, 2015), while JTBC exported *Hidden Singer* to America (NBC), China, Turkey, Vietnam, and Thailand (Seong, 2014; Yun, 2015).

The scale of the Korean format business is far smaller than that of developed European and American format industries; however, considering that it is only in the last twenty years that the Korean entertainment television industry has moved away from copying and reproducing foreign programmes without paying proper license fees, recent developments in the format export market are a remarkable change. Such recent advances are meaningful enough to expect continuous development in original content production in the entertainment television industry of Korea, and as we shall see in Chapter 5, recent developments in the industry enable current entertainment show PDs not only to maintain their creative ambitions but also

¹⁹ *1 Night 2 Days* is a reality-variety show produced by KBS-2TV; it was first launched on 5th August 2007. The basic motto of the show is "Real Wild Road Variety", and it has five presenters. The premise of the programme is that tourist attractions in South Korea are recommended and various activities that viewers could enjoy at each place are introduced.

²⁰ Considering the current Chinese population (more than 13.5 Billion) and the existence of numerous broadcasters in the mainland, a viewership of 5% could be equivalent to that of the entire Korean population watching the same programme.

to dream of becoming an international player in the global format market in the future.

3.3. The structure of the television production industry and the PD labour market

The Korean television broadcasting industry consists of six representative market players: 1) terrestrial broadcasters; 2) cable television system operators (SOs); 3) direct satellite television service providers; 4) PPs (Programme Providers)²¹; 5) IPTV operators; and 6) independent television production companies (Lee, 2004, pp. 44-45). There are indeed numerous types of broadcasters in each category, but as the current research primarily deals with the original programme production process, this sub-chapter is focused on those organisations that primarily produce original television content. I will then observe how these industrial structures have shaped the structure of the PD labour market in the entertainment genre.

3.3.1. The key players in original television content production

1) The three major terrestrial broadcasters

Typically in the Korean broadcasting industry, KBS, MBC, and SBS (all of which have national networks) are recognised as the ‘three major terrestrial broadcasters’. Although there is another national broadcasting network, EBS, this is normally excluded from the list as EBS is an educational channel. These three major broadcasters are allowed to broadcast all genres of programmes, including news, factual, entertainment, and drama.

²¹ ‘PP’ typically refers to a company that runs a television channel. And ‘MPP’ refers to a company that runs more than two television channels. At the time of writing, there are a total of 188 PPs in the Korean broadcasting industry. The leading MPPs in the current television market are the three main terrestrial broadcasters, KBS (6 channels), MBC (6 channels), and SBS (10 channels), and the conglomerate, CJ (23 channels) (Iwabuchi, 2004).

KBS (Korea Broadcasting System) is a public terrestrial broadcaster. Its activities are supervised by Broadcasting Law and are funded by the government and license fees. It operates radio, television, and Internet television services, and has two national channels, KBS-1TV (without advertisements, this channel primarily airs factual and current affairs programmes) and KBS-2TV (with advertisements, this channel primarily airs entertainment and drama programmes). KBS also has local broadcasting networks in 16 regions²² (MSIP & KCC, 2014b). Under the Constitution, the president of KBS is selected by the Korean president, and both the KBS board of directors and the political parties can recommend the nominees. Due to this, KBS has always been under government influence. In 2010, 41.2 per cent of KBS's revenue came from the license fee (2,500 Korean Won per month), and 48.7 per cent was from commercial advertisements (Han et al., 2013).

MBC (Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation) is also a public terrestrial broadcaster. It has two large shareholders and its management is dependent upon sales of advertisements. MBC's largest shareholder at present is the Foundation for Broadcast Culture (방송문화진흥회) (70 per cent), and the second largest shareholder is Chungsoo Scholarship Foundation (정수장학회) (30 per cent). Both shareholders are known to indirectly supervise the management of the company, so it is widely recognised that MBC is a 'semi-public' broadcaster, and that it is under the influence of political pressures. At the time of writing, the current president of Korea, Geun-Hye Park, is the eighth chairman of the board of the Chungsoo Scholarship Foundation. MBC has one terrestrial television channel (MBC), and has local broadcasting networks in 18 regions²³ (KCC, 2012).

²² In Busan, Changwon, Daegu, Gwangju, Jeonju, Daejeon, Cheongju, Chuncheon, Jeju, Ulsan, Jinju, Andong, Pohang, Chungju, Gangneung, and Wonju.

²³ In Busan, Daegu, Gwangju, Daejeon, Jeonju, Chuncheon, Cheongju, Jeju, Ulsan, Gangneung, Mokpo, Yeosu, Andong, Wonju, Choongju, Samcheok, Pohang, and Kyungnam.

Finally, SBS (Seoul Broadcasting System) is a private terrestrial broadcaster, which primarily targets the Seoul metropolitan region. To establish a national network, SBS affiliated with nine local private broadcasters²⁴, so its programmes are also locally transmitted (Han et al., 2013). Thus, although SBS is a terrestrial broadcaster focused on a limited region, it acts as one of the most powerful national broadcasting networks in Korea. To become established in the market, SBS has invested significantly in entertainment programme productions (including dramas) from the outset, unlike KBS and MBC, and this has resulted in a massive increase in production costs and casting fees within the Korean entertainment television industry.

2) Cable television organisations

The cable television industry has two key players in the programme production business: SOs (System Operators) and PPs (Programme Providers). SOs, which are also known as platform operators, distribute television programmes by operating cable television terminal systems. These companies manage their channels and services by receiving television content from PPs. To use cable television services, audiences must sign a contract with a SO company and pay a subscription fee. SOs then repay part of this subscription fee to PPs (content fee) and Network Operators (network fee). The relationships between SOs, PPs, and NOs (Network Operators) are visualised in Figure 3.3.

²⁴ SBS (Seoul, Kyunggi, Incheon), G1 (Gangwon), TJB (Daejeon, Sejong, Chungnam), CJB (Chungbuk), JTV (Jeonbuk), KBC (Kwangju, Jeonnam), TBC (Daegu, Kyungbuk), KNN (Busan, Kyungnam), UBC (Ulsan), and JIBS (Jeju).

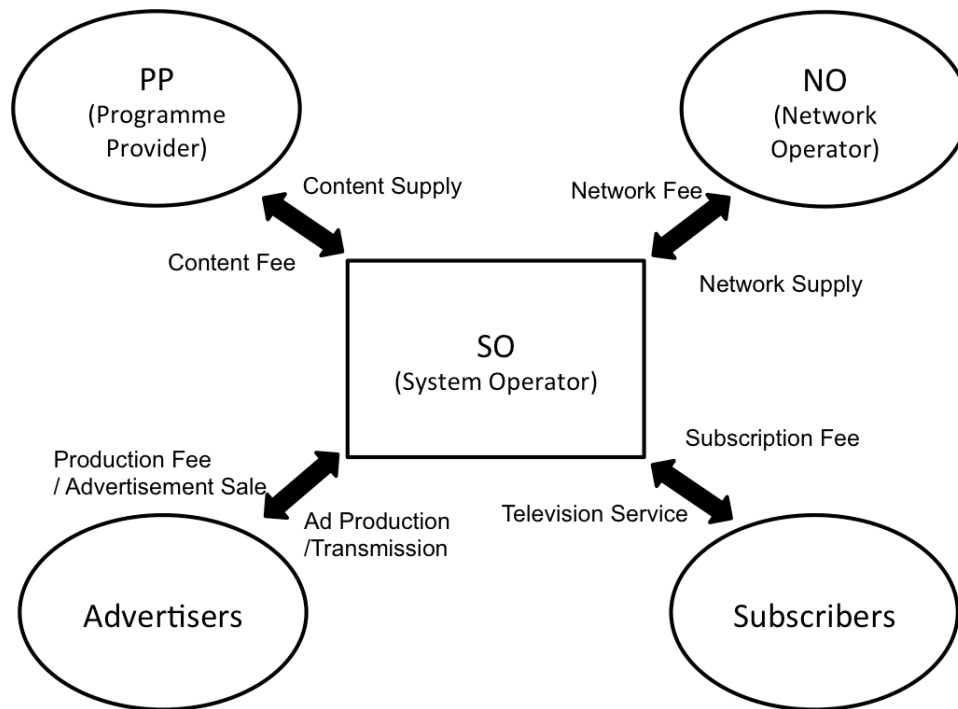


Figure 3.3
The industrial structure of the Cable Television Business in Korea
(Adapted and translated from Han et al., 2013, p. 50)

Typically, a SO has an exclusive business license in a specific local region, and has the right to give a particular channel number to PPs. Since the order of channel numbers usually affects the level of accessibility, the right to manage the channel numbers allows SOs to enjoy a privileged status within the cable industry. Initially, joint ownership and mergers and acquisitions among SO companies were strictly regulated, but since the Integrated Broadcasting Act in 2000, Multiple SOs (MSOs), which run one or more SO firms, have emerged. In 2013, amongst a total of 92 SO companies, 81 belonged to MSOs, and the top five MSOs²⁵ garnered an 88.6 per cent of the market share in SO sales (Han et al., 2013).

In contrast, PPs (Program Providers) supply television content to SOs by either producing an

²⁵ In 2013, the top five MSOs were: CJ Hello Vision (22 SOs), T-Broad (23), C&M (17), Hyundai HCN (9), and CMB (10).

original programme or purchasing a finished programme from another broadcasting organisation (such as another PP, a terrestrial broadcaster, or an independent production company). Like SOs, the number of mergers and acquisitions amongst PPs has increased since the Integrated Broadcasting Law, and in 2013, the top four MPPs (Multiple Programme Providers)²⁶ had 53.4 per cent of the market share in PP sales (MSIP & KCC, 2014a, p. 38).

In addition to horizontal mergers and acquisitions (MSO and MPP), the level of vertical integration of SOs and PPs has also gradually increased (the integration of a SO and PP is known as a MSP). In particular, CJ E&M, which has 23 PPs and 22 SOs, had the biggest market share in total broadcasting sales in 2013 for the SO and PP business (26.7 per cent) (MSIP & KCC, 2014a, p. 39).

3) Independent production companies

In 1991, the government first implemented the independent production quota for terrestrial broadcasters (3 per cent of all productions). This quota has gradually increased over time, and in 2015, each terrestrial broadcaster has been allocated a specific quota for the percentage of programmes that must be produced by independent production companies (hereinafter IPC)²⁷. In 2013, there were 503 IPCs, and the number of employees in this sector was 6,808. IPCs supply television programmes to various broadcasting organisations (terrestrial broadcasters; satellite broadcasting companies; cable television companies, both SO and PP; and IPTV). With regard to both broadcasting duration and the number of outsourced programmes, the cable television industry is the biggest customer of IPCs, but, as terrestrial broadcasters produce many outsourced dramas and entertainment show

²⁶ The shareholders of the top four MPPs are: CJ (23 PPs), SBS (10), MBC (6), and KBS (6).

²⁷ KBS-1TV (24%), KBS-2TV (40%), KBS DMB (20%), SBS and MBC (35%), SBS and MBC DMB (28%), EBS (20%), and other terrestrial broadcasters (4%).

programmes (which have higher production costs), larger IPCs tend to be involved in the programme production of terrestrial broadcasters (MSIP & KCC, 2014a, p. 40).

Typically, IPCs assertively lobby broadcasters for programme contracts, and in the process, they tend to expose themselves to risk by casting popular presenters or writers, which introduces excessive production costs. It is also true that outsourcing contracts are unfavourable to IPCs, and in many cases, broadcasters tend to require IPCs to accept additional conditions that are not clearly indicated in the contract (such as deprivation of copyright or unreasonable demands to find sponsorship) (K.-h. Kim, 2015). If a broadcaster outsources a programme to an IPC, one or more full-time employed PDs of the broadcaster become the Chief Producer (CP) of the programme production, and the IPC production team typically experiences many interventions during the production process. Interviewee OJ, who worked as a freelance PD at IPCs, shared his experience of working with the full-time employed PD of the contracting broadcaster during the production process.

The whole production process is on us, and CPs are only supervising our work. [When there is a conflict with a CP] we don't fight. We just say 'OK'. Recently, I had to edit the same programme six times. [The terrestrial broadcaster] has very strict regulations on content, so the CP only cared about the regulation committee, and wanted me to exclude a particular scene, which was really important to the whole flow of the programme. I was the Main PD of the programme, which meant I was the one who knew most of the production. But there's nothing I can do at moments like this. We should follow their opinion.

Interviewee OJ

3.3.2. The scale of original programme production budget and the PD labour market

As briefly observed above, terrestrial broadcasters, PPs, and IPCs are the key players that

produce original programmes, and others tend to concentrate on purchasing finished programmes. Since the main role of a PD is producing an original programme, it is natural that PD candidates tend toward these three types of broadcasting company. If we look at the scale of the original program production budget of each player, it is possible to grasp a picture of the different environments within these organisational types.

In 2014, the total annual production costs of all terrestrial broadcasters was 1,296 billion Korean Republic Won (KRW)²⁸, of which 1,010 billion KRW²⁹ was spent on the production of original content. Meanwhile, PPs' spent a total of 1,502 billion KRW on production, of which original content production accounted for 1,070 billion KRW (MSIP & KCC, 2014a). In contrast, independent production companies do not normally have their own budget for production but must instead win a programme production contract with the above two types of organisation. Although a few financially strong independent production companies are currently emerging (such as SM C&C), these firms are not typical as they tend to come about through mergers with influential entertainment conglomerates.

The influence of terrestrial broadcasters therefore remains the most powerful, but the cable television industry is growing thanks to ambitious investment in creating original content. The structure of the PD labour market is built upon this industrial environment, and this has led to a certain hierarchical class distinction amongst television PDs. In the following sections, I will briefly outline the typical class distinctions between PDs in the Korean television labour market to provide background information for the upcoming discussions in Chapter 5.

²⁸ Approximately equivalent to £764 million GBP (The applied exchange rate here was 1 Pound sterling equals to 1,700 KRW).

²⁹ This includes in-house production, outsourcing production (towards independent production companies), and co-production.

Although the aim of this thesis is not to provide a critical review of the hierarchical structure in PD society, it does seem that it is hard to obtain a clear picture of the PD labour market without explaining its distinctive structure.

1) The 'Upper' class of PDs:

started as a full-time employee at a leading terrestrial broadcaster

Traditionally, being a PD in the South Korean television industry means that the candidate took an elitist course in society. According to a study by Lee (1993), who observed the entry level education of PDs in the three terrestrial broadcasters, more than half of PDs were graduates from Seoul National University, the nation's top school. At the time of writing, although educational requirements have officially eased, it would be fair to say that PD candidates still need to have a distinguished university degree in order to increase the likelihood that they will achieve full-time employment at one of the three terrestrial broadcasters (KBS, MBC, and SBS). As compared to the past, it is true that, due to the increasing power of a handful of cable broadcasting companies, there are greater opportunities to become a PD. However, becoming a full-time PD at one of the terrestrial broadcasters is still perceived as the most promising path to success and the majority of my interviewees agreed that these full-time employee PDs are viewed as an 'upper' class in the PD labour market.

Interviewees consistently named several advantages of entering the role via a terrestrial broadcaster, including stable resources and infrastructure, favourable government policies, wide access to audiences, guaranteed tenure employment, and rich opportunities to create a programme and enhance one's reputation. Somewhat cynically, one of my interviewees

contended that this deeply rooted hierarchical structure among PDs would never change:

You know, the starting point is the most important factor in success in our country. It determines almost everything, especially if you want to be a PD. Let's compare to other countries, like America. Independent production companies in the US have their own copyrights and they are able to sell broadcasting rights to stations. But in Korea, broadcasters have all the rights, and naturally, PDs within those powerful broadcasters enjoy a super-privileged status. I'm pretty sure that none of this will ever change.

Interviewee HS

Indeed, when they first decided to become a PD, the majority of my interviewees who held a university degree attempted to enter into one of the three terrestrial broadcasters (although most were unsuccessful). For one of my Interviewees it took almost three years to pass the entry exam of a terrestrial broadcaster:

At first, I passed the entry exam for a cable broadcasting company. But...unfortunately, the company was completely different to my expectations. So I quit the job, and started again to prepare for the next annual exams of the three major broadcasters...and I failed again. So I entered an airline company as an office worker and worked for a while... Finally, in the following year, I applied again, and passed the entry exam for [a terrestrial broadcaster]...it took almost three years to enter into a terrestrial broadcaster.

Interviewee HJ

The competitiveness of such exams is often compared to that of the so-called three most difficult exams in Korea, which select diplomats, administrators, judges and prosecutors.

Typically, a television company has six stages in its recruitment process (see Figure 3.4), and the overall entry process takes more than one month. Such traditional recruitment is normally held only once per year. Once selected, candidates are employed as interns and are usually promoted to a full-time Assistant PD (AD) role after several months.



Figure 3.4
PD Entry Process for SBS in 2013 (terrestrial broadcaster)

PDs who began their career at a terrestrial broadcaster as a full-time employee also tend to enjoy a much higher level of mobility once they are well established. From late 2011 onwards (at around the same time as CPCs were launched), many entertainment programme PDs who were then working at terrestrial broadcasters have begun to move instead to a few cable broadcasters. The majority of Entertainment PDs have moved to CJ E&M and JTBC, which have a high rate of producing original content. Many of these PDs were so-called 'star PDs', whose programmes and names were part of the brand image of their previous employers. Even PDs without powerful reputations but who are well trained and experienced have been actively scouted from terrestrial broadcasters by cable broadcasters with the lure of financial reward. Interviewee JJ, who was the Director of the Entertainment Production Department of a terrestrial broadcaster in 2013, explained his frustration when 14 experienced Entertainment PDs left the company:

When the CPC channels were launched, CJ (a conglomerate with 23 channels) also began to increase its production of new original programmes. At that time, I lost 14 PDs in our department. They all were very good and important people in our company. I worried so much about how to keep them. But eventually, I

realised it was impossible. It's all about money. The offers that cable broadcasters make when scouting are unimaginable to the average person within a terrestrial broadcaster. They suggest 1 billion KRW to PDs as a transfer fee. We, as a public broadcaster, cannot give such an amount of money to a single employee. We simply don't have it.

Interviewee JJ

In comparison however, the PDs who moved to a cable broadcaster emphasised as crucial factors in their decisions both the higher levels of creative autonomy available to them and the fact that there were more opportunities to produce a programme as a Main PD.

One day I thought...it will take more than 10 years to build my reputation in the terrestrial broadcaster. Due to the congestion of personnel, if I were still at [a terrestrial broadcaster], I would not have had my chance to debut as a first Main PD until my 40s. If so, would it be possible to create something fresh and unique for audiences in their 20s? I don't think so. Debuting as soon as possible, and testing out my capacity as an Entertainment PD were the supreme task. [a CPC channel] was likely to give such a chance to me. It was actually a no-brainer.

Interviewee HJ

I bet any experienced PD would like to create something new. We, as a content creator, all want a new challenge. This cannot be explained with the wage problem. Many people now know that the KBS organisational structure is bureaucratic. But experiencing this from the inside is far worse. If we insist on producing a programme based on our own ideas, seniors claim that we have exceeded our rights. And they force us to produce unimaginable programmes...but if any problem occurs, all responsibilities are ours.

Anonymous

(Previously employed at KBS, now at CJ E&M; cited in Jeong, 2012)

Many established PDs are moving not only to these cable broadcasters but also to a handful of powerful independent production companies (such as SM C&C) and to mobile television businesses (such as KT Media). As such, the level of labour mobility within Korean PD society is continually increasing. However, it appears that such mobility is restricted to the limited number of PDs who began their career within a stable organisational structure as, through an intensive training period, they were granted experience of original content production processes. In other words, there is a strong possibility that increasing mobility could intensify the privileged status of those PDs who began their career at a terrestrial broadcaster.

2) The 'Middle Upper' class of PDs:

started as a full-time employee at a powerful cable broadcaster

As seen above, a handful of cable broadcasters have been ambitiously investing in original content production in recent years. Specifically, the conglomerate CJ, which has 23 cable channels, spent 291 billion KRW on original content production in 2013 (of which 245 billion KRW was accounted for by in-house programme production and 48 billion KRW by outsourced productions). This was the largest expenditure of all MPPs (MSIP & KCC, 2014a). The four CPCs (Comprehensive Programming Channels) are also aggressively expanding the scale of their investment in original content production. Although these four CPCs have only one channel each, in 2013 they collectively spent approximately 314 billion

KRW³⁰ on original content production (MSIP & KCC, 2014a). To support such levels of original content production, it is clear that these emerging cable broadcasters in turn need to secure outstanding programme creators to deliver high quality, creative programmes to audiences.

As already seen, it is the case that these powerful cable broadcasters are assertively scouting PDs from terrestrial broadcasters. At the same time, they are also nurturing their own PD talent by recruiting graduates. Many of the cable broadcasters have chosen to follow the traditional recruitment process as used by terrestrial broadcasters, which is usually held only once per year (see Figure 3.5). As a result, full-time PDs in a few influential cable broadcasters have become seen as a 'middle upper class' within PD society: not only are they able to steadily develop their career within a relatively stable and secure organisational environment but they have abundant opportunities to create an original programme, and within the context of the labour market, they hold a relatively privileged status. Indeed, if an individual's application to a primary terrestrial broadcaster is unsuccessful, the next logical choice for PD candidates is to approach the few influential PPs and MPPs.

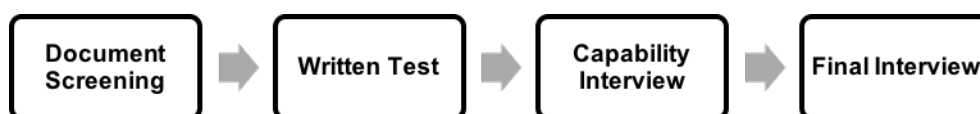


Figure 3.5
PD Entry Process for JTBC in 2013 (CPC, cable broadcaster)

³⁰ This includes in-house production, outsourcing production, and co-production costs.

3) The 'Lower' class of PDs:

started as a freelance PD

The majority of my interviewees who began their career as a freelancer at either terrestrial broadcasters, cable broadcasting companies, or IPCs found their first job through the network of a private media institution (a so-called 'Broadcasting Academy'). There are also several temporary agencies that hire out workers to broadcasters, and the majority of workers within these agencies are from such 'academies'.

From my in-depth interviews, it appeared that, for those who cannot meet the high entry requirements of the few established organisations, obtaining training via a private media institution is an alternative route to becoming a PD. Table 3.3 shows those interviewees who found a freelancer FD (Floor Director) position through a private educational body.

Interviewee	Institution	First Position	Current Position
EH	KBS Academy	Freelance FD at a terrestrial broadcaster	Full-time Main PD at a CPC channel
HS	Seogang Academy	Freelance FD at a terrestrial broadcaster	Full-time Main PD at a cable broadcaster
JP	MBC Academy	Freelance FD at an IPC	Full-time Main PD at a cable broadcaster
WL	MBC Academy	Freelance FD at an IPC	Full-time Main PD at a cable broadcaster
YJ	Seoul Academy	Freelance FD at an IPC	Freelancer Main PD at a cable broadcaster

Table 3.3
Interviewees who found a freelancer FD position through a private educational body

The very first private institution (or 'Broadcasting Academy' as these institutions are known in Korea) was the MBC Academy, which was established in 1992. In the early 1990s, there was wide speculation that the Korean broadcasting industry would expand significantly through the advent of the cable television market, satellite television services and the new media market (Kim, 2010). Somewhat naively, this was followed by the expectation that the broadcasting industry would need much greater professional PD manpower. This has led to an explosive increase of such private institutions, and these 'academies' have proven to be the primary source of vulnerable and instable labourers; that is, the 'lower class' of PD.

Typically freelance employment is not based on a stable labour contract. The roles of freelance PDs (either junior or senior) are primarily based on project work, and wages are much lower as compared to those of PDs in a stable organisation. In contrast to the entry requirements for full-time PDs in either terrestrial or cable broadcasters, the entry barriers to IPCs is not as competitive. Indeed, the majority of my interviewees who are (and were) freelancers stated that it is quite hard to obtain a junior freelancer PD position due to the instability and poor working conditions.

For my current programme, our FD has changed four times already. They all just ran away without saying a word...! I think the current working environment is not that bad, compared to my previous experiences...but maybe for these young people, this is not a favourable situation.

Interviewee YJ

In addition, it appears that male candidates are reluctant to start a career as a freelance PD, and many of my interviewees believe this is because of the socially expected male roles in a family in Korean society.

If we consider independent production companies, it is very hard to find male junior freelance PDs. You know, the working conditions and wages are not ideal, and especially for men, I mean, who should be bread-winners for a family in the future... In the case of women, it is also very unlikely to be linked to a long career, as so many of them just quit the job after marriage. It's a pity that they leave this field so soon. There's always a chance to achieve stability if they endured a little longer...but they don't.

Interviewee TM

Presumably, working as a freelance PD from the outset is perceived as an option that is very unlikely to guarantee a secure and stable working life. However, this kind of television work, which is primarily accompanied by intensive physical work, is increasingly taking an important role within the television industry as a whole. Above all, the increased quality of television programmes, especially in drama and entertainment show genres, means that established broadcasters need significantly higher volumes of PD labour: where one or two PDs used to be sufficient to produce a programme, now many more staff are needed. At the same time, intensifying flexibilisation due to the enforcement of the Act for Dispatched Workers³¹ has naturally led to a massive influx of this cheap and vulnerable group into established broadcasters. Again, my aim here it is not to criticise the issues within the PD labour market, but to point out the deeply rooted structural environment that Korean PDs have experienced. Due to the above reasons, beginning one's PD career as a freelancer or part-time employee is perceived as the last choice for anyone who wishes to become a PD.

³¹ In 1998, the *Act on the Protection, Etc., of Dispatched Workers* came into effect to protect the rights of dispatched workers (alternatively, temporary agency workers). Broadly speaking, it has two aims: maintaining the job security of dispatched workers, and diversifying employment types to promote the efficiency of the job market. However, this act allows employers to recruit non-permanent labourers more easily, meaning that they are able to reduce labour costs without offering permanent job positions. Consequently, the Act has been criticised for many workers suffering from bad working conditions, low job security, and discrimination on job sites (Kim, 2011).

To support a better working life for such independent PDs, the Korean Independent Producers & Directors' Association (hereinafter KIPDA) was established in 2006. Interestingly however, it is a condition of this association that to join a PD must have more than one year of experience after his/her name has been featured in the 'PD' section of the end credits of a terrestrial television programme (Interviewee OJ). This shows that even the lowest level of class has internalised the hierarchical structure of the industry and, even if an individual is working as a freelancer, they still differentiate status based on experience obtained within a terrestrial broadcaster.

For those independent PDs with a history of experience and a good profile, there is opportunity for 'class mobility'. Indeed, some of my interviewees successfully moved into an established organisation when the labour market expanded in 2011 and thereafter. As mentioned above however, PDs in terrestrial broadcasters are increasingly willing to move to other organisations, which in turn narrows the opportunities available to independent PDs. Those interviewees who were currently working as an independent PD stated that they continually attempt to get into an established organisation to secure a stable future career but it seems very unlikely to happen.

Based on the above observations, it is possible to draw a hierarchical structure of PDs within the PD labour market (see Figure 3.6). It is important to note that this is primarily based on the observation of current PDs who are working in the entertainment genre.

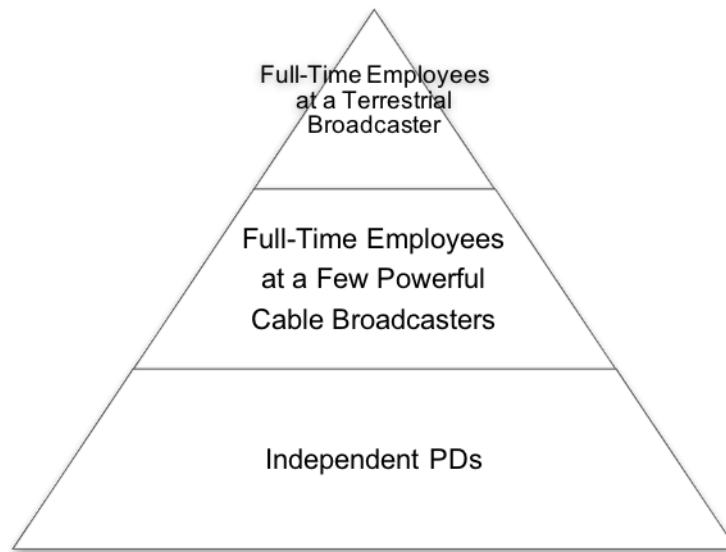


Figure 3.6
The hierarchical structure of the PD Labour Market

3.4. Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I observed the historical and industrial background of the Korean entertainment television industry and its labour market, both of which are closely linked to the question of the creative autonomy of PDs. As seen above, the early system of the Korean broadcasting industry was formed under oppressive societal circumstances. The first broadcaster in Korea (JODK, which was a radio broadcaster) was constructed as a Japanese broadcaster due to the colonial occupation, and the initial state-run television broadcasting service in Korea (KBS-TV) also began under repressive governmental control by the military-led administration. Having observed these early days of the Korean broadcasting service, the significant role of programme producers—who were shaping the television culture and communicating with audiences—was identified. JODK was intentionally created by the Japanese government to disseminate Japanese culture and norms, but somewhat ironically, the broadcaster acted as the first radio broadcaster to produce programmes in the Korean language in its need to attract Korean people. As a result, this shaped the first experience of broadcasting culture for Koreans. Similarly, although the military-led Korean government intended to use the broadcasting service to influence people to conform to the authorities (and to distract people from the harsh realities), the state-run broadcaster offered an opportunity to grow the first seeds of entertainment television.

Throughout this process, the creative role of programme creators was historically significant as they naturally balanced various tensions and dilemmas; for example, the needs of government with the needs of the audience. The role of PD itself reflected the paradoxical working environment within the old state-run broadcaster: Producers, who were newly recruited and submissive to Directors, were suddenly transformed into fully autonomous

agents by governmental order and took the role of both Producer and Director. As a result, today's PD role has come to deal with not only personal creative ambition but also originality, quality, and the marketability of a television programme.

Once the broadcasting industry was freed from political authorities, the struggles of PDs to achieve a good level of creative autonomy continued. Democratisation of Korean society was linked to the diversification of entertainment television programmes, but this did not mean that the level of creative autonomy available to PDs automatically increased. While PDs have been freed, relatively speaking, from the direct supervision of the government, the massive commercialisation of the television market has brought new obstacles to the maintenance of creative autonomy; specifically, the need to increase the marketability of television programmes. Similarly, the recent shift of the Korean entertainment television industry from a television format importer to a net exporter has also introduced new influences on the level of creative autonomy, as PDs now need to consider not only national audiences but also the global market. In the process, PDs continually experience anxiety about creative autonomy and how to balance their desire for autonomous self-expression with the other values of television programmes.

The hierarchical structures of the broadcasting industry and the PD labour market have been another factor to affect the level of creative autonomy available to PDs. As we have seen, PDs endeavour to achieve as high a level of creative autonomy as possible by becoming sufficiently professionalised—a process that requires them to endlessly negotiate and compromise the degree of creative autonomy. The process of professionalisation requires continuous negotiation, and the multiple pathways to employment and the different 'classes' of PD in the labour market again show the constant striving of PDs for autonomy. Since the implicit hierarchical structure within the PD labour market is linked to the level of autonomy

available to PDs, entertainment television PDs seek to achieve an opportunity to move into the upper labour class to achieve a good level of creative autonomy. Likewise, the level of creative autonomy that current PDs experience is closely related to the historical and industrial background that I have explored throughout this chapter. Since PDs have been responsible for shaping the Korean television culture and the quality of programmes, the matter of creative autonomy remains historically and socially significant in the television industry. In Chapter 5, the ways in which these complex processes of negotiation are experienced by entertainment television PDs will be observed through the interviews.

CH 4. Research Design and Methodology

This chapter describes the design and the methodology that was applied in seeking to answer the research question of the current study. To investigate the lived experiences of creative labourers with regard to their own experience of multiple identities and the degree of creative autonomy available to them, I adopted a qualitative approach: semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with a sample of Main PDs in the Korean entertainment television industry. To understand the specificity of the contemporary creative labour processes that not only reflect individual creative ambitions but also the desires that creative workers have as employed labourers and as professionals, these interviewees were carefully selected. Since most Main PDs in the entertainment television industry work within an organisational environment as a creative labourer, their particular situation of creative work will allow us to observe the interplay between creative workers' complex and paradoxical desires, the multiple identities they experience, and the degree of creative autonomy that is available to them throughout their creative career. This chapter begins with an outline of the primary research design for the current study; I will then describe the process of conducting in-depth interviews and of data collection and interpretation; finally, the rationale of the empirical research design is given and an assessment of the validity of the adopted methodologies is made.

4.1. Research Design: qualitative research and thematic analysis

The present study initially began with a need to fill the gap between mainstream studies of cultural work—which were largely based on a perceived dichotomy between art and commerce—and the lived experience of creative labourers. The central premise of the current research is that individual creative workers are not simply subordinated in the given

structure of the commercial creative industries, but still act as assertive players who are responsible for creating the core creative value of the industry. In this sense, a constructionist approach was considered to be the most appropriate as it regards the role of interactions between individuals as crucial to the construction of a social phenomenon (Bryman, 2012). Thus, the basic design of the current study follows *qualitative research*, which prefers interpretation of lived experiences and aims to generate a theory based on such empirical investigation.

The underlying premise of this study is that individual creative workers experience three different identities in the creative working process, and they naturally negotiate the level of creative autonomy available to them by balancing the desires of each identity. Since both the identities themselves and the process of negotiation are not fixed but inherently fluid, and each is influenced by numerous variables and environmental factors, it is crucial to obtain data that reflects the actual experiences of core creative personnel (Main PDs) in the given occupational field (the Korean entertainment television industry). To this end, I adopted *semi-structured in-depth interviews* as the primary method for this study as this enabled face-to-face interactions and mutual communication with those able to share their experiences of multiple identities. Interviews allow us to observe the interviewees' own experiences through the ways in which they use language, expressions, shared codes, and the interpretation of their individual experiences (Seidman, 1998). Given the variety of individual thoughts and experiences, open-ended interviews were also an appropriate means to observe the subjective expressions and emotions of a given subject; by continuing the conversation beyond that of the fixed questionnaire, the researcher was able to further investigate individual differences and similarities between interviewees. In addition, since semi-structured in-depth interviews allowed the researcher to analyse the reactions of interviewees, and to obtain their feedback, it was possible to check whether the questions

were appropriate for the purpose of the study as the interviews progressed (Rubin & Rubin, 1995).

As a former PD in the Korean entertainment television industry myself, I was a little concerned about the possibility of bias. To ensure unbiased, accurate and honest results from the semi-structured interviews, I sought to ensure that interviewees were comfortable, the environment was interactive, and that I avoided giving implicit guidance to interviewees. For instance, even when an interviewee's answer was somewhat unexpected, I encouraged the interviewee to continue in his or her own observations during the interview. I also did not challenge an interviewee's answers, either overtly (for example, by interrupting or cross-questioning) or covertly (through body language, facial expressions, or tone of voice). Nonetheless, there remains a danger in such qualitative research that interviewees themselves present false observations to the researcher; in this way, I was able to take advantage of my previous experience as it allowed me to assess the objective context of each conversation. The facts and details that interviewees shared about the reality of the working environment were further verified through my own communications with former colleagues still working in the field and their peers.

To analyse the interview data, thematic analysis was carefully chosen as the primary method. Unlike other widely used qualitative analytic methods (such as discourse analysis, grounded theory, and narrative analysis), thematic analysis allows for a high level of flexibility in using a range of theoretical approaches (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Since the current research examines a variety of theories from cultural studies, creativity studies, and management/organisation research with regard to the issues of creative autonomy during the creative production process, such flexibility was considered advantageous. Rather than being wedded to a pre-existing theoretical framework, thematic analysis is able to reflect the

reality of participants' experiences. Thematic analysis reflects real world phenomena by unravelling 'the surface of reality' (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 9). This fits well with the underlying philosophy of the present study in which it is suggested that social and industrial structures do not determine all outcomes.

Two types of thematic analysis exist: inductive and theoretical. I followed the 'bottom up', inductive approach as this deals with the qualitative data itself, and is free from a pre-existing coding frame, thereby allowing unexpected findings to be explored. For the purpose of this study, which primarily seeks to articulate the lived experiences of PDs in the creative production process, inductive analysis was considered the most appropriate to observe the specificity of creative labour. In addition, when coding the themes, I chose to identify themes at a latent level rather than semantic level³², as this study seeks to identify both the patterns and the relationships of semantic codes, and to understand the broader implications of these, while such implications are often related to existing literature (Patton & Patton, 2002). Upon this basis, I followed Braun and Clarke's six phase, step-by-step guide to thematic analysis to analyse my interview data (2006, pp. 16-23). To extract the main themes, I also applied code-by-code matrix analysis (adapted from variable-by-variable matrix analysis), which allowed the relationships between different codes to be revealed (Miles et al., 2014).

³² Thematic analysis at the semantic level identifies themes within the explicit meaning of the data, and does not search for features beyond what the interviewee has stated. Meanwhile, thematic analysis at the latent level seeks to identify those 'ideas, assumptions, and conceptualisations' underlying the participants' words (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

4.2. Conducting the research

To articulate the meaning of the phenomena that interviewees had experienced in relation to the overall framework of the research, it was crucial that a relevant interview group was set up. Bryman (2012) also stressed that both the questions and interview participants should correspond well with the given purpose of the research. In this sense, the first and foremost condition of the present research design was the identification of interviewees with sufficient experience of not only creative production within the cultural/creative industries, but also creative autonomy in a complex and paradoxical environment. Considering this, the television industry is an occupational field where such experiences are easily observable, because the creative production process for broadcasting is inevitably accompanied by multi-layered relationships between the organisation, audience, and the market. The fact that the researcher, who was previously a PD in the same industry, had strong professional networks in this field was also an important factor. From various genres, the light-entertainment television genre was chosen to enable a focus on the issues of creative autonomy during the production process: by avoiding other sensitive issues related to individual autonomy, such as political autonomy or freedom of speech (which might have intervened in factual programming or news, for example), I aimed to focus on the conflicts between individual creative ambitions and organisational/professional values that creative labourers had experienced.

Further to the above criteria, I added three additional conditions. Firstly, all interviewees should have debuted as a Main PD and must have led programme production for one or more programmes in the entertainment genre. Secondly, to observe differences in the influence of different organisational statuses, I sought to recruit entertainment show PDs across the three different working environments: 1) one of the three major terrestrial

broadcasters, 2) cable broadcasters (both general cable television networks and CPC channels), and 3) independent production companies (generally working as a freelancer). Thirdly, I recruited both full-time and part-time PDs to compare their experiences of creative autonomy in regard to working status.

4.2.1. Recruitment method and the profile of participants

Having myself worked full-time for a cable network as a PD in the Korean entertainment television industry, it was not particularly difficult to recruit PDs in this labour market as interviewees. To begin, I contacted former colleagues still working in the industry and asked them to introduce co-workers or friends who met the criteria of the interview group. Consequently, 16 interviewees were recruited from various types of television organisation and in varying employment statuses. Three of the sixteen interviewees were former colleagues (SL, SP, and JP); the remainder were either contacts from my own professional network or were connected to my former co-workers. As seen in Table 4.1, ten interviewees had experience of moving to a different type of television organisation, while eight had changed their working status at some point during their career.

Name	Career Length (Years)	Career Path: Organisation Type	Working Status
WL	16	IPC → Cable (General)	Freelancer → Full-Time
HS	14	Cable (General)	Full-Time
HJ	9	Terrestrial → Cable (CPC)	Full-Time
EK	13	Terrestrial → Cable (CPC)	Full-Time
SL	8	Cable (General)	Full-Time
JP	13	Cable (General)	Part-Time → Full-Time
SP	24	Cable (General)	Full-Time
EH	15	IPC → Cable (CPC)	Freelancer → Full-Time
YP	14	IPC → Cable (CPC)	Freelancer → Full-Time
JL	14	IPC → Cable (General) → Cable (CPC)	Freelancer → Full-Time
OJ	15	IPC	Freelancer
BM	10	Cable (General) → Cable (CPC)	Full-Time
TM	11	IPC → Cable (General)	Freelancer → Full-Time

JJ	30	Terrestrial	Full-Time
YJ	9	IPC → Cable (General)	Freelancer → Part-Time
HWS	15	IPC → Cable (General)	Freelancer → Full-Time

Table 4.1
List of Interviewees
(IPC: Independent Production Company)

4.2.2. Interview arrangements

After completing the selection of interviewees, I first contacted each interviewee via phone and briefly explained the purpose of the research interview. I reminded them that their names and company titles would be written in random initials to ensure their interviews were anonymous. I added that their interviews would be a part of my PhD thesis, and that there was also a possibility that the content of interviews may be published in a journal or a book. I then arranged a time and place for their interviews to take place, and explained to them that the interview would take around one to two hours. I sent a text message to confirm the interview details, and subsequently sent a questionnaire via email one week prior to each interview (see Appendix 2). Most interviews took place in either a cafe or pub in the city of Seoul, Korea, near to the workplace of the given interviewee.

4.2.3. Interview process

All interviews were conducted face-to-face and in the Korean language. The average length of each interview was 1.9 hours. With the consent of each interviewee, I audio-recorded the interview using a portable microphone and a Voice Memo application on an iPhone 5S. At most interviews, I purchased a cup of coffee (or a pint of beer) for the participant before the interview began. Since the general content of my interview questions concerned the subjective thoughts and feelings of interviewees, I sought to maintain a relaxed atmosphere throughout. Having completed the interview, the majority of participants said that it had made

them look back over their life and career seriously. In many cases, even once all questions were finished, interviewees voluntarily added other examples or memories about their working life as a television PD and in doing so, a few new issues emerged. At the end of each interview, I expressed my gratitude for their participation, and gave each interviewee a small gift of thanks (a box of British tea). I then explained it was possible that I may contact them again (via either text message, phone, or email) if an additional interview was necessary. During transcription, I contacted eight interviewees again to ask additional questions and to clarify their answers.

4.2.4. Interview questions

All interviews were conducted based on the fixed questionnaire that I sent in advance to interviewees (see Appendix 2). However, the interview process and the order of questions were not strictly confined to the pre-formed list. Rather, I encouraged interviewees to reflect their unique experiences with regard to the issue of creative autonomy in their work. This allowed for a more dynamic discussion and for new insights to be obtained in relation to the current research.

Before embarking upon the fixed questionnaire, to create a comfortable and relaxed atmosphere, I first asked each interviewee about their current programme production or their career history. I then linked this casual conversation to the primary interview questions. Although each interview was conducted in a different order, in most cases, I first began with questions about the length of the interviewee's career and their debut as a Main PD. This was a good starting point for the interviews as such questions naturally encouraged participants to talk comfortably about reminiscences of their early career. I then proceeded to ask questions regarding their individual creative ambitions and how these related to their

work as a PD, followed by questions that explored their satisfaction as a creative self, employed creative labourer, and a creative professional. The second phase of the interview primarily concerned the relationships between an interviewee's organisational status and his or her creative career. During these discussions, I focused on investigating the behind-the-scenes relationship that an interviewee experienced with a television organisation during the production process. I also sought to observe subtle changes in both the interviewee's emotion and their use of language to identify their subjective thoughts and feelings. The final phase of the interview concerned participants' professional status in the PD labour market, and we discussed questions about professionalism, professional autonomy, and the matter of copyright.

Since I aimed to conduct each interview in an open-ended structure, the order of phases was not strictly fixed. If any interesting or relevant new issues emerged, I followed with questions that were adjusted accordingly so as not to interrupt the flow of thought for an interviewee. If an interviewee's answer was unclear or lacking in depth, I intentionally repeated the same question in an indirect way to more fully elicit and understand the respondent's thoughts on the specific issue. During interviews, I noticed that one particular question tended to induce discomfort in the majority of interviewees; I therefore observed their reactions to this question more carefully, and asked the same question in a variety of ways so as to compare each interviewee's response (see Chapter 5.2). The full questionnaire can be found in Appendix 2, and a sample interview script is provided in Appendix 3.

4.2.5. Thematic analysis

When undertaking thematic analysis of the interview data, I first transcribed all interview

scripts using NVivo 10, after which I repeatedly read the transcription to become familiarised with the data (Phase 1). By reviewing all interview scripts line-by-line, I then generated a list of initial codes (semantic) from the data, creating 176 codes in total (Phase 2). Having created these initial codes, I conducted code-by-code matrix analysis to observe the overall pattern of the interrelationships between codes (Miles et al., 2014). Since this study seeks to identify the paradoxical and conflicting attitudes that creative labourers experience during the creative production process as a result of their multiple identities, it was crucial to understand the links (if any) that were occurring between different codes. Thus, for each code, I examined the number of code frequencies and the co-occurrence of other codes. In particular, I carefully observed those codes that showed a large number of co-occurrences with other codes, and clustered these codes into 23 headings³³. I then narrowed down these 23 headings to three main themes related to the purpose of this research (Phase 3), reviewed and refined these themes (Phase 4), and named each theme (Phase 5). The final themes were: ratings (Chapter 5.1); the process of professionalisation (5.2); and the importance of deriving enjoyment from work (5.3). The first theme concerns the way in which the commercial value of television programmes is related to the multiple desires of PDs. The second theme considers the conflicting relationship between the organisational work environment and the professional career development process of a PD. The last theme embraces the issues of individual creative ambitions, an individual's desire to have a higher level of creative freedom, and how an individual balances this with other desires for economic stability.

³³ The 23 headings that were initially clustered were: subjectivity; voluntariness; self-image; personal life; self-satisfaction; freedom of thought; sense of ownership; audience recognition; audience reaction; viewership ratings; dream of being a PD; negotiation; conflict; specificity of PD labour; training period; changes in the broadcasting market; group consciousness; senior-junior relationship; colleagues; terrestrial broadcaster; hierarchical structure among broadcasters; internalisation of organisational hierarchy; and closed community.

4.2.6. Translation

Since all interviews were conducted and transcribed in the Korean language, for the purposes of this thesis I have translated quoted interview scripts into English. Having previously been employed to translate two books from English to Korean, translating between these languages was a familiar process. That said, there were times when it was very hard to find an English word that was fully equivalent to a specific Korean term and that conveyed the exact meaning and nuance of an interviewee's words. For instance, the majority of interviewees used the word '재미' when they described the reason that they chose to continue their PD career despite it being challenging at times. If following the Dong-A Korean-English dictionary, '재미' would be translated as 'fun' or 'interest'. However, in my understanding of both Korean and English, it seemed that such English words did not fully reflect the implicit nuance of the Korean word. Thus, I described the hidden meaning of the word '재미' to both a British professional proofreader and a lecturer, and both suggested that 'enjoyable/enjoyment' would be the most appropriate word with which to translate '재미'; I then cross-checked the validity of this suggestion with a number of interviewees who had studied in an English-speaking country. Likewise, whenever I experienced ambiguity in translation, I sought guidance from both native English and native Korean professionals.

4.3. The size and representativeness of the sample

Typically, the size of the sample in a qualitative research is smaller than that of a quantitative study (Patton & Patton, 2002). However, this does not mean that sample size is not important in qualitative research. The size of the sample should not be too small to examine the argument of the study, nor too large to pursue the very aim of qualitative investigation, which by its nature seeks deeper case-oriented analysis as compared to quantitative inquiry (Sandelowski, 1995). As indicated earlier, the current research aims to observe the lived

experience of creative labourers who experience multiple desires during the creative production process based on their different identities (individual, organisational, and professional). Thus, the selected sample should be able to reflect the specific experiences that individual creative workers have had in creative production processes, as well as revealing how the working environment and the career development process has shaped the specificity of creative labour and the resulting multiple identities. In this sense, interviewing a small number of participants enables us to investigate such lived experiences and subjective perspectives in more depth.

As discussed earlier, I stipulated that all participants must have debuted as a Main PD in the entertainment television industry in Korea. By following these criteria, I aimed to meet PDs who had experienced a similar career development process in the same genre. When considering the fact that the total number of entertainment shows across all broadcasters (both terrestrial and cable) is limited³⁴, the pool of Main PDs from which participants could be drawn was restricted and therefore a sample size of 16 was a good proportion. In addition, to reflect the various types of organisation and the different employment statuses of PDs, I recruited Main PDs from three types of television organisations (terrestrial broadcaster, cable television network, and independent production companies) and three different employment statuses (full-time employee, part-time employee, and freelance). Since more than half of the interviewees had either moved to a different type of organisation or changed employment status during their career development process, the sample of organisational cases was greater than the actual number of interviewees. Despite the breadth of experiences within the sample and the fact that each interviewee had a different starting point in their career, I

³⁴ At the time of writing, the mean number of entertainment show programmes across the three major terrestrial broadcasters is 19 (KBS-1TV and KBS-2TV, 23; MBC, 13; SBS, 22). JTBC, which creates the largest number of entertainment shows amongst the four CPC channels, broadcasts 11 entertainment programmes. Therefore, there is very limited number of first Main PDs in these broadcasters.

found that the majority of interviewees had experienced similar organisation-based professionalisation processes while becoming a Main PD. Furthermore, a clear pattern across all interview responses was identified with each theme, suggesting that my sample size was sufficient to examine the overall aim of the present research.

4.4. Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I outlined the empirical research design and the methods that I adopted for the current study. Conducting interviews is inherently complex and requires a significant investment of time and effort both before and after the interviews themselves. Main PDs tend to be quite closed to out-group people but thanks to my prior experience as a PD in the same genre as the interviewees, it was relatively easy to have a relaxed and smooth conversation. By sharing my own experiences as a creative producer and that of my former colleagues, I was able to easily construct a bond of sympathy with each interviewee. As the interviews progressed, I was able to understand more about the specific labour market and the industry, which in turn allowed me to identify further follow-up questions for later interviews. For instance, the issue of copyright emerged during early interviews, so I composed an additional question for later interviews. Consequently, the interviews provided a rich source of research data, which enabled me to develop the initial ideas of the theoretical framework in a more concrete and clear manner.

Part II. Empirical Study

CH 5. The Multiple Identities of PDs and Negotiated Creative Autonomy

In Chapter 2, I proposed a new conceptual framework of creative autonomy that emphasised the negotiated nature of the creative labour process. In this chapter, I aim to evaluate the core concepts of the new framework with empirical data. The following three sub-chapters consist of three different themes: *viewership ratings*, *the process of professionalisation*, and *the importance of deriving enjoyment from work*, all of which were selected through thematic analysis of the data from interviews with Main PDs in the Korean entertainment television industry. In addition to the thematic analysis, code-by-code matrix analysis was also applied to examine the code frequencies and co-occurrences of different codes; this allowed patterns, relationships and conflicts to be understood. Each theme reveals a different type of conflict experienced by Main PDs during the creative production process. The first theme, *viewership ratings*, deals with the relationship between the commercial value of a television programme and the various desires of a Main PD. The second theme, *the process of professionalisation*, reveals the paradoxical nature of the organisation-based professionalisation process. Finally, the third theme, *the importance of deriving enjoyment from work*, explores the degree to which creative labourers value the possibility of deriving a sense of enjoyment through the pursuit of their creative ambitions. With these three themes, I aim to observe how the desires of creative labourers are related to their decision-making processes in regard to the level of creative autonomy available to them.

5.1. Viewership ratings

In Chapter 2, I observed that discourses on creative autonomy have recently begun to move beyond the traditional concept of aesthetic autonomy as the need to understand the negotiated nature of creative autonomy has been identified. The present research aims to closely observe the complex and paradoxical relationships surrounding cultural/creative

labourers through the concept of multiple identities. To understand how the level of creative autonomy is intertwined with the multiple identities of individual creative labourers, this first sub-chapter deals with the subject of viewership ratings, which is the prime indicator of economic success for television programmes.

Viewership Ratings in Korean Entertainment Television

By its very nature, the act of producing a cultural product seeks to share the producer's distinctive creative expression with others. It would be fair to say that anyone who works as a creative labourer would wish not only to have as large an audience as possible but also to achieve a positive reaction from this audience group. For Korean television PDs, the core indicator that shows the level of audience reaction to their programme is ratings.

In the Korean broadcasting industry, the viewing data is primarily measured using the A.C. Nielsen People-Meter System. People Meter is a set-top box that monitors the age and sex of a sample household member who is watching a certain television programme³⁵. Since this traditional rating survey only calculates the viewing data from the television itself in each sample household, it cannot accurately reflect recent changes in media consumption behaviours (for instance, mobile TV, Internet TV, Video On Demand [VOD], Digital Multimedia Broadcasting [DMB], and so on). However, the Korean broadcasting industry is still largely dependent on the conventional way of measuring the viewing data, as most advertisers still make their decisions about whether or not to buy timeslots for ads based primarily on conventional ratings.

Meanwhile, in many Western countries, such as the United Kingdom, Germany, France,

³⁵ Calculation of Ratings = 100% x (number of households watching a programme / number of households who own TVs)

Denmark, Norway, Canada, and so on, several new ways of measuring viewing data have already emerged (Bong, 2015). For instance, in the UK, the BARB (Broadcasters Audience Research Board) uses two types of viewing data: on-air and catch-up (BARB, n.d.).

Recently in Korea, moves to create an integrated rating system—which combines the viewing data of VOD services with traditional television ratings—have been observed. However, it has been inevitable that the new evaluation system has generated conflict amongst various stakeholders and it is likely that it will be some time before a new way of calculating viewing data is accepted and used more widely. In other words, in spite of the limitations of the traditional rating survey, many of which have been acknowledged by Korean television PDs, most television organisations in Korea still use it as the key indicator of the level of performance of a programme, meaning that PDs must also follow this system even though such ratings may not be an accurate indication of audience reaction.

The ratings figures are, in some ways, perceived as a test score for Main PDs, which must be improved to attain a better organisational life and a higher degree of creative autonomy. Indeed, almost all interviewees strongly agreed that achieving higher viewership of their programmes is the most crucial task that a PD has. However, as we shall see, the desire of a PD to enhance their ratings is a composite of several desires. By analysing the code frequencies and the co-occurrence of other codes with that of the code ‘ratings’, nine codes were most frequently mentioned, as seen in Table 5.1.

Codes	Subject Code	Ratings
	Self-satisfaction	36
	Audience	30

Quality	28
Marketability	24
Sense of Distance	20
Negotiation	20
Personal Goal	19
Organisational Interventions	16
Discretionary Rights	15

Table 5.1
The frequency of co-occurrence with the single code 'Ratings'

With the analysis of code frequencies, it is clear that PDs consider numerous other factors when they think about ratings. To date, others (including media and other researchers) have largely interpreted ratings as being synonymous with the market value of a given television programme; however, as we can see in the above table, PDs have a complex relationship with ratings in which self-satisfaction is strongly associated with ratings figures. Here, the term self-satisfaction refers to the inner happiness that a PD experiences when the viewership rating of their programmes is favourable. As shall be seen in the next section, the majority of interviewees appeared to achieve the greatest level of self-satisfaction with a good ratings figure from their programme production (see 5.1.1.). Of course, such self-satisfaction is again multifaceted in the PD's multiple identities as an individual creative self, an organisational member, and a professional. Throughout the following sections, I will more closely examine the nature of the association between ratings and self-satisfaction and the potential conflicts that arise.

5.1.1. It's a love-hate relationship: seeking self-satisfaction through audience reactions

Throughout all interviews, Main PDs seemed to have a somewhat dualistic attitude toward ratings figures—a kind of love-hate relationship. As mentioned above, any creative labourer

would wish to secure a positive reaction from an audience and positive feedback about their work; thus, it seems natural that every PD would love to achieve higher ratings figures through their programme production, as ratings are still the primary source by which audience reaction and the popularity of a programme is measured. Nonetheless, as we shall see later, Main PDs experience somewhat complicated feelings when they are forced to follow organisational directives due to a programme achieving low ratings figures.

With recent changes in the media market, many PDs now look for alternative ways to more closely observe audiences' consumption behaviours and audience thoughts about a programme. Almost all interviewees appeared to check online search terms, or the download rankings of their programmes, at Internet sites such as NAVER³⁶ and Tving³⁷. In addition, many PDs checked Internet message boards to find direct feedback from the audience about their programmes, and searched for their programme title across social network sites (SNS) by using hashtags. However, conventional ratings are still perceived as the most reliable measure and are directly related to the evaluation of a PD's performance in the organisation. Thus, PDs seemed to judge viewership ratings as the most important source, not only to gauge the level of audience feedback and reaction, but also to help them to identify their professional capacity to make a programme within an organisation.

Indeed, during every interview, I asked the same question to all interviewees: 'At what moment did you experience the most self-satisfaction?' The majority of interviewees answered the same: they felt the greatest pleasure when their programme achieved a great ratings figure (stated by Interviewees BM, EH, HS, HWS, JJ, JL, JP, SL, SP, TM, WL, YJ and

³⁶ <http://www.naver.com>

³⁷ <http://www.tving.com>

YP). In particular, Interviewee TM said that his strongest motivation in work is a good viewership rating, and Interviewee HS explained as follows: “It’s a certain addictive drug. Once I get a very good ratings figure, it feels like...the pleasure overpaid me for all my sufferings during the production process”. Interviewee BM even compared the ratings figures to a huge round of applause in a concert:

Last week, I went to a concert in Schönbrunn Palace in Wien, Austria. The concert was truly amazing, and the audience called for an encore again and again; eventually, the orchestra played an encore that lasted for almost an hour. For me, I heard the sound of the applause as if it were like ratings. Do I glorify too much? (laugh) At least for me, the meaning of ratings is just like that.

Interviewee BM

Likewise, for PDs, the moment of checking ratings figures is perceived as a time to face the reaction of the audience.

The working history of Interviewee WL showed how much longing PDs have for a good audience reaction from the start of their career. He started work as a freelance PD in a local cable broadcasting company and was initially involved in a documentary production team, a role that does not have significant pressure on achieving higher ratings. Although he learned a lot in this role, the traditional documentary programme did not satisfy his desire to feel audience reactions vividly.

As you know, [my company] was on the periphery of the television industry. I believe a PD is a storyteller—but when I was working there, I felt no one was

listening to my programme. So I thought I should go to Yeouido³⁸. Many seniors tried to stop me, and they even offered me an opportunity to become a contract employee, but I refused it. And I moved to [another company] in 2003, where I produced [a programme] for KBS. It was a totally different world. Many PDs were involved in the same programme, and every PD was in charge of making a clip of around 15 minutes for the programme. Then the company meticulously checked the ratings of the programme and announced which item and which time-point had achieved the highest ratings figure. It was so competitive, but at the same time, it was really thrilling. It felt like I was standing on the frontline of the broadcasting industry.

Interviewee WL

However, after several months, another desire emerged for Interviewee WL. By the time the programme started to satisfy his need to feel audience feedback, he then began to wish to produce not only a popular programme but also a good quality one that he could be personally proud of. This did not mean that he no longer cared about ratings; rather, he began to try to find a balance between his two desires: 1) achieving higher viewership, and 2) producing a good quality programme that reflected his own creativity. Afterwards, he moved to several other broadcasting organisations seeking to find one where his multiple desires could be met. In 2007, Interviewee WL successfully established himself as a professional entertainment show PD.

Regarding such a paradoxical relationship between ratings and the quality of a programme, Interviewee JL adamantly stated:

³⁸ Yeouido (Yeoui Island) is an island in Seoul, South Korea. Until recently, major terrestrial broadcasting stations (KBS and MBC) and numerous production companies were located in Yeouido (MBC moved to the Sangam Digital Media City in 2014).

Above all, a television programme is made for public viewers, not for my family or myself. Especially, it could be said that entertainment shows are made solely for the market itself. If a programme doesn't create any meaningful ratings figures, I think it is not worth talking about the quality of the programme itself. We PDs should communicate with audiences through a programme, and if there is a good point in the programme, there should be good feedback. Even a few documentary programmes achieve good ratings scores, so entertainment shows must surely also do so?

Interviewee JL

Likewise, PDs in the entertainment genre highly value ratings figures: as creative labourers, first and foremost, audience reactions and feedback are important to them. If an interviewee's programme achieved a good ratings figure, the degree of satisfaction in their work also seemed to increase. At the same time however, Main PDs desire to bring their own creative ambition to bear. Eventually, they wish to find self-satisfaction by chasing two hares at once. And this causes many conflicts throughout the working process. In later sections, I will look more closely at what kinds of conflicts Main PDs come to experience when seeking to achieve such complex and paradoxical satisfaction.

5.1.2. Confronting irrational demands from the organisation

Although many PDs desire to achieve good ratings by producing a programme that reflects their own preferences and creative ambitions, approaching such a dualistic ideal is not an easy task. In particular, like any other cultural product, the making of a popular television programme cannot be easily formularised. By its very nature as a cultural product, a television programme is always dependent on the uncertain and unpredictable media consumption behaviour of viewers. In addition, as mentioned above, Korean television PDs must also deal with a traditional ratings survey that does not fully reflect consumption

behaviour in the current media market environment and could therefore be somewhat misleading.

In the given industrial situation, many broadcasting organisations tend to encourage Main PDs to produce a programme by adding a slightly new take on a previously popular broadcasting item. Recently in Korea, for example, food and cooking shows have dominated entertainment television programmes. At the time of writing, the prime time schedule for light-entertainment programmes (typically between 21:40 to 00:00 on weekdays and between 12:00 to 22:00 on weekends) is led by cooking shows, as seen in Table 5.2. If also considering repeat catch-up schedules for each programme, it would be fair to say that Korean television audiences cannot help watching cooking shows in their leisure time. Many traditional entertainment show programmes are also increasingly adopting food-related programme items. At the time of writing, many more new programmes about food, cooking and chefs have been launched.

Many television organisations encourage Main PDs to make a programme based on existing trends rather than creating something unique and new. Due to the high cost of producing a new prototype programme, almost all business departments in television organisations tend to hesitate in leading the next new trend. It could be argued that the decision to reproduce a similar programme by following popular concepts is jumping into the *Red Ocean*³⁹. However, television organisations seem to believe that copying and reproducing a popular concept is more productive and efficient than making an experimental programme. In such an organisational environment, many Main PDs are required to make a 'newish' programme by

³⁹ In the concept of *Blue Ocean* strategy, Red Ocean is a traditional competition-based strategy, which aims to build advantage by evaluating competitors' performances; meanwhile, Blue Ocean strategy seeks new opportunities for profit and growth through the belief that industrial players can reconstruct both market and industrial boundaries (Kim & Mauborgne, 2005).

merely blending previously successful programme concepts or fashionable items.

	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat
08:20						Well Being and Well Dining (SBS)
11:00						Find! Delicious TV (MBC)
12:00	What to eat Today? (O'live)			What to eat Today? (O'live)		Gourmet Road (Comedy TV)
						Tasty Road (O'live)
20:20				The Class of a Meal (KBS Joy)	Delicious Folks (Comedy TV)	
20:40				Call Delivery (O'live)		
21:00		Olive Show (O'live)				
21:30			Among Chefs in Italy (SBS plus / SBSfunE)			
21:40	Take Care of the Fridge (JTBC)	Mr. Baek's Homemade Food (TvN)	Wednesday Food Talk (TvN)	Korean Food War (TvN / O'live)		Three Meals for Three Times (TvN)
				More Delicious One Shot (E Channel)		
23:00				Food for Your Healthier Life (Channel A)		
				More Delicious One Shot (E Channel)		
				Happy Together – A night cafeteria (KBS)		
23:15						My little Television ⁴⁰ (MBC)
23:30						Humane Condition - Farmers in the City (KBS)

Table 5.2
Weekly on-air broadcasting schedule of food and cooking shows in the Korean entertainment television genre in July 2015

Interviewee TM shared his experience of a similar situation. In 2014, his employer asked him

⁴⁰ *My Little Television* is based on the omnibus concept, featuring five to six segments of live online broadcasting. Since the launch of the programme on 25th April 2015, the cooking segment, 'Mr, Baek's Luxury Recipe' has consistently been the most popular. This segment ended in early August 2015, but afterward, various chefs have been involved in a segment of the programme.

to make a new programme that dealt with the buzz word 'some' (썸)⁴¹, but at the same time, the company required that the programme targeted audiences in their forties.

Quite often, we are asked to make a programme by following specific requests from above. For the current programme, they asked me to attract audiences in their forties, by using the concept of 'some'. The company especially wanted to attract the audience group of middle-aged women, who are believed to have higher buying power. However, to be honest, I thought the romantic relationship that the word 'some' implies is primarily for the much younger generation. I had no idea how to match the word 'some' with women in their forties. Should it be their love relationship in reality or an ideal?

Interviewee TM

Likewise, in many broadcasting organisations, it is a common situation that the programme planning department suggests a few keywords for a new programme to Main PDs. Typically, such key concepts are selected through sophisticated market research and so-called trend analysis. In the case of Interviewee TM, it seemed that the company tried to find a niche market by linking a new audience group (women in their forties) with a new trend ('some'). However, the problem here was that the disharmonious match between the two concepts puzzled the Main PD who had been tasked with actually producing the programme.

At first, I was obsessed with the given age group. So I cast celebrities in their forties...which is very unusual for an entertainment show programme on a cable channel. So I initially decided to set up a dynamic presenter group that reflected

⁴¹ Recently in Korea, 'some' (썸) has become a popular slang word. Derived from the English word, 'something', it describes the beginning phase of a romantic relationship, in which people start to feel 'something'. For example, if someone is called 'some nam' (man) or 'some nye' (woman), that person is believed to have the strong possibility of becoming a boyfriend or girlfriend.

various age groups in their twenties, thirties and forties (normally I would only choose those in their twenties and thirties). After producing a few episodes, I thought I didn't need to cast a celebrity in his forties to attract the same age audience. There is no evidence that audiences in their forties would love to see a presenter in his forties...isn't this the case? But you know what? The company still said to me, 'There is no person who reflects the target age group in your cast, do not remove that presenter!' Isn't this a naive thought? I really want to persuade the company that we do not necessarily need such cast members, but I can't do that at the moment. Once the ratings go up, probably I will be able to do so.

Interviewee TM

Although Interviewee TM already recognised that the requests from the planning department were somewhat irrational, he tried his best to adhere to the given concept as much as possible. At the same time, he tried to imbue his own views and styles into the programme. However, from the above interview, it is possible to see that the company did not have a specific solution to attract audiences in their forties, but instead assumed that age-matched cast members would attract a target audience of the same age group. Interviewee TM was conscious of his other desire to make the programme more 'logical', but was waiting for the moment that he could confidently push forward by acting on his own belief ('once the ratings go up').

For Interviewee JL, the failure of a programme within a similar situation gave her the chance to distance herself from the illogical demands of the organisation. She was also requested to set up a programme production based on trend analysis.

In the last year, I had to make a programme based on a special command from the organisation—'raise the viewership ratings, no questions asked'. In addition,

the content analysis department ordered me to inject several trendy concepts into the programme. I spent almost two months making an integrated concept for the requested programme, but it was not easy at all. Actually, it was relatively straightforward to think up sub-items for the show, but I had many difficulties in constructing the whole concept of the programme itself. In the end, the programme failed. Initially, due to some trendy items within the show, ratings figures went up to a certain degree—but as the series went on, the programme failed to build a concrete identity. It became something that you could see in any other programme, which meant that audiences didn't have any reason to watch our programme specifically... After an unstable period, the programme eventually ended with poor ratings.

Interviewee JL

Likewise, many interviewees admitted the fact that it is actually quite hard to make a sustainable programme for the long term when merely following existing 'buzz' concepts. After having such an experience, Interviewee JL established her own principles for producing a programme. The first principle was not to apply 'first-aid' solutions to temporarily obtain higher viewership. She realised that although injecting disharmonious elements into a programme may catch audiences' attention temporarily, it did not help to establish the programme for the longer term. Similarly to Interviewee TM, JL had tried to make a programme by following the concept given to her by the organisation, which the organisation believed would lead to higher viewership ratings; however, from pre-production stage, JL found it challenging to create a coherent concept that integrated different, albeit currently fashionable, items. Even though she recognised that the life cycle of the programme might not be promising, she had no choice but to powerlessly observe the death of the programme due to her position as an employed creative labourer. As a trusted professional, although she first tried to conform herself to the organisation, having experienced failure, she then decided to make a programme that reflected not only organisational needs but also her own

judgment and styles. She began to consider what would be the best way of balancing her two different desires, both to show loyalty to the organisation as an employed labourer, and to maintain her own principles of programme production.

In both cases, even though the company strongly imposed their suggestions on the concept of a new programme, the responsibility for the whole programme production and the resulting ratings fell solely on the Main PD, not on the company or the programme planning department. In other words, although a Main PD failed to achieve good ratings because of the company's irrational demands, they were not able to cite this as a reason for the poor result of the programme. From this perspective, it becomes clear that, to develop their career successfully, Main PDs need to have the ability to differentiate between worthy suggestions and misdirected requests from above. To do so, when working as an employed creative labourer, Main PDs also need to maintain their own sense of judgement as a creative self and a professional, even if this judgement is not always effective. For Main PDs, this is not only a survival strategy but also the key to their career management. Interviewee JL's decision to establish her own principles of programme production having experienced failure implies the importance of the independent stance of the creative labourer. The next section will further explore instances in which Main PDs endeavoured not to lose their own beliefs when under organisational pressure.

5.1.3. Taking a firm stand against organisational interventions

It is a well-known fact that making a stable prototype of a cultural product is risky and expensive. Indeed, many have identified the main characteristic of a creative product as that of uncertain return with huge investment costs (Bilton & Cummings, 2010). However, although a television programme should be regarded as a typical cultural product, the

majority of broadcasters do not tend to have sufficient patience to wait until a new programme has achieved enough awareness amongst audiences. Many interviewees stated that one of the most difficult problems is that the company does not have a particular management strategy that considers the specificity of a television programme as a cultural product. In many cases, broadcasters require Main PDs to achieve a good level of ratings right after the launch of the programme. For instance, in a typical cable television company, if a new pilot entertainment genre programme fails to meet the level of ratings required within the first four episodes (typically four weeks for a weekly programme), the company is likely to withdraw the launch. Thus, Main PDs are under much pressure if the early ratings figure of a new programme is not positive enough. Interviewee BM shared his experience when he tried to persuade the company to continue his programme because he believed the show was worth continuation.

The initial ratings of [my programme] were not good at all. So the company wanted to end the show. I tried to convince them by explaining that my programme would help the company extend the level of diversity of programmes, and I also emphasised that we needed a programme that could legitimise the existence of our channel itself. Initially, it could have ended with just 4 episodes, but with my efforts, the programme continued to 12 episodes. During that time, almost every day I met with people in the planning team. Of course, I met with the strategy department, as well, to persuade them about the value of my programme. Probably I fought with almost 100 people in our organisation at that time. In the end, my senior said that he understood the quality of the programme was worth continuing, but the company couldn't ignore the ratings. And finally I agreed with that.

Interviewee BM

This confirms that the level of creative autonomy is negotiated in the television production

process. A few months later, Interviewee BM launched another new programme. The initial ratings of the new show were also very low, and he again needed to convince the company to continue the programme. After the first four episodes, the company allowed him to produce four more episodes, which was his final opportunity to demonstrate the value of the programme. Fortunately, the ratings went up dramatically within the additional period, and at the time of interviewing, the programme was the most popular and successful programme of his company. He found that his courage to confront the organisational pressure on ratings came from his own ideals as a creative producer. (Of course, this was possible partly because of his professional status as a Main PD).

Many have asked how I can have such belief to persuade others about the future of my programme. In fact, there is no such thing... Many tend to deny the possibility of success for a new programme if there is no similarity to previously successful programmes. But above all, I believe PDs need to bring something new to the market. To do so, the organisation should believe in us first—our creative sense and our ability to produce the next new trend. The organisation should trust us based on our career history, and they need to offer an autonomous period in which we can freely demonstrate our own creative world. Of course, I know it is very risky—indeed, it guarantees nothing. But when it comes to the uncertainty of television programmes, nobody knows about tomorrow anyhow. Any currently popular programme could fail tomorrow. In such a situation, I think we should try a new and different one.

Interviewee BM

Similarly, Interviewee HJ frequently used the word 'value' to explain his own philosophy of programme production. HJ produced a programme, which is considered to have created a new trend in entertainment programmes. Indeed, between 2013 and 2015, the programme he produced generated many buzzwords (such as 'green light') in Korean popular culture

and has been linked to many parodies. But the initial ratings of this programme were not promising, and early on HJ faced strong interventions from the organisation and his seniors.

In the early phase, the ratings figure was not promising at all. So many colleagues and seniors suggested different approaches to my programme. Through [the programme], I wanted to create a public sphere in which people could freely share their experience and thoughts about love relationships, without setting any hierarchical structure within the programme. But most people said that I needed to make the programme more provocative. Such a direction did not match with my belief of the value of the programme. Actually, I thought it might be better to just end the programme if I must change the direction such that the value of the programme itself did not fit.

Interviewee HJ

Although guaranteeing the success of a programme is impossible, PDs such as Interviewees HJ and BM appeared to maintain their own belief in their programmes despite strong organisational interventions and pressures. Despite low ratings figures during the early phases, they tried to persuade the decision makers of their organisation, and endeavoured to protect their own styles and sense of values, as much as possible. To a question about how he fought with others to protect his belief in his programme, HJ said: “How can I fight with them? I just endured and waited by saying, ‘OK, I will think about it’”. After a few weeks of ‘enduring’, the ratings figure started to go up, and HJ was able to maintain his own beliefs, and afterward, the standard of value within the programme.

Both interviews with BM and HJ allow us to consider the importance of offering a slack period of time for creative labourers to sufficiently convey their own creative world and philosophy during the early, developmental stage of a cultural product. As in the case of BM,

the result of such creative autonomy is not always positive. However, by offering a certain degree of autonomy to creative labourers who are willing to present their own creative world, the organisation might increase the possibility for innovation. Also, as an employed creative labourer, creative workers naturally seek to achieve two desires in their work: building organisational trust as an employed labourer, and maintaining their own creative and professional sense of programme making. That is, Main PDs are always open to the negotiation of the level of their autonomy if they are able to maintain a certain level of their own creative sense and professional capacity. The next section explores how Main PDs negotiate between organisational interventions and their own beliefs.

5.1.4. Things PDs need to 'give up' for better ratings

As seen in the two stories above, while Main PDs do their best to protect their creative autonomy, it is true that they are not always able to resist organisational interventions. Broadcasting companies not only determine the lifecycle of a programme based on ratings figures, but also evaluate the organisational performance of Main PDs. Thus, quite frequently, PDs decide to temporarily postpone their own preferences and to instead utilise tactics that are believed to guarantee slightly better ratings for entertainment shows. In this situation, the majority of my interviewees used the expression, 'give up,' to describe the unavoidability of conforming to a certain formula believed to swiftly improve ratings figures.

One common way to achieve a higher viewership is to extend the length of a show or to slightly amend the on-air time schedule. Recently in Korea, many broadcasters have competitively adopted a significant time extension in the length of entertainment shows to prevent audiences from changing channels. Thus, especially within the primetime slots of entertainment shows, many broadcasters tend to extend the running time of the programme.

In the process, Main PDs are forced to make their programme longer, which is inevitably linked to heavier workloads. Many PDs and analysts have also argued that the prolonged length of an entertainment show means that audiences find it difficult to concentrate on the content itself.

To be honest, I do not think it is a good idea to make [my programme] longer than 60 minutes in length. But it is an undeniable fact that extending the length of the programme helps to improve ratings figures. After directly observing the actual differences in ratings based on running duration, I was unable to resist the extension of the show's length, and now it is almost 80 minutes. I actually think the extended length of the show is less interesting than the previously shorter ones. And I also know the programme could be more compelling if I could reduce the running time. But I should *give up* [emphasis added]. It is just the reality of broadcasting workers. That's what we should compromise.

Interviewee HJ

Since the extended length of the programme does not necessarily damage the core concept of the programme, Interviewee HJ reached a compromise. Although he personally disliked the prolonged version of the show (having described it as 'less interesting'), he accepted this format as it apparently brought higher viewership figures to the programme. In this way, it can be seen that an assertive creative labourer is actively seeking to find a way to meet organisational needs while maintaining his own creative ambitions in the programme.

Meanwhile, other interviewees shared that adding formularised items to a programme was one of the most common ways of raising ratings figures. For instance, many interviewees admitted that showing a celebrity's house during the show temporarily guarantees a higher ratings figure. Also, scenes of food, cooking, and pleasant eating experiences are believed

to immediately improve viewership figures. In addition, many interviewees stated that they often used several formularised editing styles for entertainment programmes, as these styles are believed to catch the audience's eye (for example, showing many close-up shots, or presenting a scene repetitively with funny sound effects). Interviewee JP clearly showed his displeasure about the need to formularise programmes:

To be honest, from time to time, I need to *give up* my style a lot. Above all, the women viewers in their 30s to 40s typically show higher ratings figures with food and cooking items. So I need to put such things into my programme, even if I don't actually like to present food in my show...or, to make a factual entertainment show programme, we need to add a certain touching story, which could move many viewers to tears. But I do not like certain forced touching stories either.

Interviewee JP

By producing a programme based on such trends, PDs also become somewhat pessimistic about the possibility of making something new and valuable based on audiences' tastes and ratings figures. As Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) pointed out through their own empirical research, it is largely ambiguous in the cultural industry whether or not it is possible to make a cultural product by truly reacting to audiences' tastes. In particular, when the situation arises that almost all broadcasters are making similar programmes (with the aim of achieving higher ratings), it could be said that audiences inevitably watch such programmes because they have little to no additional choice and therefore cannot express other preferences.

As you know, recently among the four CPC channels, the numbers of group talk shows have increased massively...talking about health, food, and medical information... All are making great ratings figures. But actually, these programmes are indeed so much outdated...with old-fashioned stage sets and

banal structures...probably we'd seen such shows in the '90s. But you know what? The ratings figures say that audiences actually love such trite styles. Then it becomes a certain vicious circle—broadcasters make more similar programmes, and in the end, audiences do not have the choice to choose a different programme.

Interviewee JP

However, Interviewee JP also observed that he finds himself happily watching such a 'no-brainer' during the weekend, and expressed his confusion at his own feelings.

As a PD, I personally think such group talk shows are trash. But the interesting thing is...during the weekend, if the programme happens to be on TV, as a viewer I keep watching it...and to be honest, in the end, I actually very much concentrate on it (laugh). The other day, the show introduced some medical herbs that are effective for athlete's foot, and I naturally thought about where I could get them.

Interviewee JP

Many interviewees expressed mixed feelings about the needs of the audience and their own principles for a good programme. Regardless of whether or not the ratings figure is trustworthy, PDs recognise the reality that they cannot entirely ignore viewership ratings as long as they work as a PD in an organisation. Interestingly, however, while conforming themselves to given organisational needs, interviewees seemed to watch for the opportunity for reward. They seemed to believe that once they were able to achieve a good level of trust from the organisation they would have the opportunity to make a programme that was less formulaised and reflected their own style more. However, again, this does not mean that PDs seek entire freedom from the interventions of the organisation, market, and audiences.

That said, although PDs must, from time to time, compromise their own standards for a good programme, they still clearly identify that it is an impermanent withdrawal of these standards. The strong belief in later reward implies that Main PDs are continuously negotiating their wishes to achieve an ideal balance between their multiple identities. From this perspective, the next section will primarily observe the paradoxical nature of the creative autonomy of PDs due to their multiple wishes as a creative self, an employed labourer, and a professional.

5.1.5. The paradoxical nature of the creative autonomy of a PD

As seen above, the majority of interviewees seemed to believe that they would be able to achieve a great level of creative autonomy once they successfully achieved a hit programme. Although many were also aware of the fact that full autonomy is not an option, it was true that they valued a good level of creative autonomy for the PD role to be meaningful. I asked the following question to all interviewees: To what extent do you think you currently have discretionary rights during the production process? Almost all interviewees said that they thought they were holding almost full authority within their production team, as Main PDs are typically working as a leader of their own team. However, when it came to the relationship with the organisation, they agreed that the level of autonomy was conditional and limited based on ratings figures. At the time of interviewing, Interviewee BM confidently said that he thought he had full authority both in the production process and in the absence of organisational interventions.

It might sound too arrogant, but to be honest, I think I have full autonomy now. Why do I think so? For now, the ratings figures of my programme are the best in our company. If you achieve a good score, you can do whatever you want. If not, the company begins to intervene right away. So, I would say...at least at the moment, I have full authority.

Interviewee BM

During the interview, BM displayed a very confident attitude toward his working style and the programme he created. The time of our interview was 2 o'clock in the afternoon on Thursday, and he said he had just arrived at work (this was in contrast to the typical arrival time of employees at the company, which is 9 o'clock in the morning). Since he was successfully bringing good viewership to the organisation, he said no one would interfere in his autonomous working style. He also added that he would be requesting exceptional support from the company by asking for an increased budget for the programme.

Some may argue that some companies tend to give autonomy and others don't—but I don't agree with that. Anyone can get a higher level of autonomy if they can show their ability to achieve a good ratings figure...this is really important to accumulate a positive career history. It will give us the autonomy that is needed for programme production.

Interviewee BM

Conversely, as indicated above with the case of Interviewee TM (Section 5.1.2), if a Main PD fails to achieve good ratings figures, it becomes hard to withstand organisational interventions and demands. In both cases, it is however clear that the PDs separately recognised their personal desires and the requests of the organisation. Among PDs, and as an employed labourer, a higher ratings figure is perceived as the key to negotiation with the organisation. In other words, as seen above in Sections 5.1.3 and 5.1.4, to achieve a good level of creative autonomy, PDs should 'give up' a certain level of freedom during the production process.

PDs also show a strong cognitive attachment to their product (programmes). Although a PD

works as an employed creative labourer in an organisational environment, almost all interviewees tend to have individual attachment to their programmes. The majority of interviewees used the expression 'my programme' when they talked about the production process. Indeed, such a tendency is actually one of the most common characteristics of creative labourers whereby they reflect and identify themselves too much in their work (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010). However, this does not only happen inside the creative labourer's mind: in addition to the PDs themselves, managers or executives in broadcasting organisations tend to judge the ratings figures as being primarily dependent on the individual capacity of the Main PD. Thus, PDs naturally take full responsibility for the result of the programme, even if the programme was largely based on organisational interventions and suggestions.

In the broadcasting industry therefore, because both PDs and organisations view PDs as responsible for the creativity of a given programme, many tend to believe that PDs need to individually develop their own creative capacity and the ability to balance many variables within the workplace. To encourage individual endeavours, most broadcasting organisations offer incentives to PDs if they achieve good ratings scores. As a previous entertainment show PD, Interviewee JJ particularly emphasised the importance of individual self-development to bring about positive results in a programme, and stated that higher ratings naturally meant that the PD job engendered competition with colleagues. Interviewee JJ started his career as an entertainment show PD in 1985 at the first terrestrial broadcaster in Korea; by the late 2000s, he was working as the head of the entertainment show programme production team. (At the time of interviewing, JJ was working as the head of the programme scheduling department).

After about 10 years since entering the company, the individual gaps between

PDs with the same length of career become larger and larger. We, as senior PDs, can easily recognise whether or not a junior PD has the capacity to produce a programme on their own and to achieve a good ratings figure.

Interviewee JJ

He also strongly emphasised that the only way for a PD to demonstrate his or her ability is to achieve a good ratings figure, and this itself is largely based on the individual capacity of a PD.

From the mid-2000s, we began to recruit PDs who had developed careers in other broadcasters. From then, those employees who had begun their career here started to discriminate against people from outside. As you may know, inside our organisation, we have a traditional 'pureblood' culture among PDs. It is to respect employees who entered [the organisation] through the official entry examination. I'm also in this group, but I think the pureblood culture does not help the development of the organisation. Interestingly, in 2013, [another] PD, who was previously working in a cable broadcaster, brought a very good result with his first programme here. Ironically, at the same time, a PD from the 'pureblood' group also launched her new programme, but the rating was low. From then, the status of PDs from outside was raised. At the end of the day, PDs should show their capacity through ratings. Other things are not important.

Interviewee JJ

Here, Interviewee JJ argues that the PD's capacity to achieve a good result with a programme is even able to reverse the internal hierarchical structure, based on career backgrounds, among PDs. Presumably, some may interpret JJ's comments as simply reflecting the change of ethos toward meritocracy within the most conventional broadcasting organisation in Korea; however, it may be more rational to interpret his comments as presenting those principles typical of the broadcasting industry as a whole, which views

ratings as supreme and as the responsibility of the individual. In addition, JJ's emphasis on the importance of individual capacity and the gaps that appear between individuals implies that the organisational environment also encourages PDs to maintain their multiple identities. In other words, even if PDs are employed creative labourers, they are expected to have the will as an individual to actualise their own creative expression through higher creative autonomy as a creative self and a professional. In addition, JJ also underlined the importance of track record and the stage at which a PD is at in his/her career. A PD who has achieved high ratings with previous programmes (even if these programmes were produced for another broadcaster) is trusted to produce high ratings in the future because of this foundation. This is in line with Interviewee BM's comments above: to achieve a good level of autonomy, there must be a negotiation between the PD and the organisation, and previous achievements help PDs to strengthen their negotiating position.

5.1.6. Concluding remarks: three different desires of PDs in regard to ratings

In this sub-chapter, I have focused on the paradoxical wishes that PDs have with regard to ratings. To sum up, PDs have shown three different but simultaneous desires in regard to ratings.

First, PDs appeared to find their own personal satisfaction as a creative self through ratings, as ratings figures are the primary source by which the audiences' reaction can be identified and feedback on their programmes obtained. As a creative self, just like any other cultural worker, PDs naturally desire to reach the largest audience possible by sharing their creative ambitions and personal perspective. However to catch the audiences' eye, PDs inevitably compromise themselves as they feel there is a need to follow certain trends and formulas to achieve higher ratings.

Second, by raising the viewership figure, PDs wish to increase the level of creative autonomy they are given during the programme production process. If the viewership of a programme is good enough, PDs enjoy a considerable level of autonomy in the organisation. However, to reach this point, PDs must make numerous compromises, acquiesce to a variety of organisational interventions, and must negotiate with their managers and seniors, until they are able to demonstrate their capacity for achieving good viewership ratings. In other words, to achieve creative autonomy in an organisation, PDs must first paradoxically 'give up' much of their autonomy during the production process.

Finally, PDs also bear ratings in mind when considering the development of their career over the longer term. As discussed in Chapter 2, the development of a PD's career typically takes many years and, with the recent increase of the level of mobility in the PD labour market, building a good reputation by making a popular programme has become more important. Presumably, in the later phase of their career, most PDs also wish for their styles and preferences to become a new trend, just as a few star PDs have become a brand themselves. High audience figures are critical to the formation of such outcomes.

To achieve a promising but uncertain future as an independent creative labourer, PDs actively negotiate the level of autonomy in their work. The three different desires that PDs have in regard to ratings are summarised in Figure 5.1. However, considering the very nature of a cultural product, which is largely uncertain and unpredictable, even if a PD achieves a great level of creative autonomy by bringing in higher ratings, the temporary agreement of the level of creative autonomy is inevitably very weak: such a temporary agreement could be withdrawn at any time because a 'currently popular programme may fail tomorrow' (Interviewee BM, in Section 5.1.3).



Figure 5.1
Three different desires in regard to ratings

Based on the cultural studies traditions that I briefly discussed above, some may argue that the decision of a PD to compromise himself or herself to the industrial and market structures for the promise of greater creative autonomy in the future is nothing but the subordinated attitude of a vulnerable creative labourer within the commercialised market. But, it was however also clear in my interviews that the creative value of the broadcasting industry is largely dependent on the individual creative capacity of PDs. At least, when it comes to television programme production, the application of sophisticated market research and trend analysis is still largely dependent on the creative capacity of individual PDs, which cannot easily be replaced. Well-established PDs not only bring newness and value to the market, but also have the ability to properly negotiate and balance the needs and demands of both the market and the organisation. Such an ability to negotiate and balance is possible due to the strength of their own intrinsic motivation, their own personal desire to achieve higher ratings, and their wish to become established in the market as a creative labourer. In other words, it is in the organisation's own interest to grant some creative autonomy to the PD. In the next sub-chapter (5.2), the paradoxical environmental factors that PDs experience

throughout their professionalisation process will be observed, along with the ways in which these influence the level of creative autonomy PDs experience.

5.2. The process of professionalisation

Typically, traditional occupations are professionalised through a period of intensive training before the individual enters into the actual labour market. The occupation's level of professional capacity is confirmed through an official certification system, and this becomes the primary base that guarantees the credibility, quality and standards of professional work. However, as briefly described in Chapter 2.4, most PDs in the Korean entertainment genre begin their professionalisation process as a junior PD (AD) in an organisation, as their training process is largely dependent upon on-the-job training. Throughout the career development process, PDs not only desire to successfully construct their professional identity by following the existing rules within the organisation, but also wish to be able to assertively negotiate their working conditions as an independent professional. Likewise, since the professional identity of a PD is constructed based on actual organisational activities, PDs experience many conflicts between their professional and organisational identities as their career develops. From this perspective, this sub-chapter will focus on the relationship between professional PDs and broadcasting organisations. If sub-chapter 5.1 (*viewership ratings*) primarily considered the inner conflicts between the multiple identities of an individual PD, this sub-chapter will concentrate more on the paradoxical environmental factors that PDs experience during the process of professionalisation.

5.2.1. Is a PD professional?

To discuss the professionalisation process of a PD, a brief introduction to traditional professionalism should first be given. Like the term creativity, there is not a universally

accepted definition of 'professional,' although it is widely used in most occupational sectors. Both the general concept of professionalism and academic perspectives about it have shifted since the mid-1990s. During the mid 20th century, only a few occupations were considered to be professional (primarily law and medicine) and most ideas about professionalism were built on this specific occupational environment (Evetts, 2013). Traditionally, professionals were socially respected and it was believed that they dealt with changing circumstances, social uncertainties and risks by using exclusive knowledge and shared experiences among peer professionals. Since professionals should utilise their own specialised knowledge and skills to benefit both consumers and the public, only qualified professionals should be accepted to enter into the designated labour market following an intensive training and education process. Thus, the professionals' own control over the labour market and decision-making processes has been considered as a crucial factor to maintain the professional quality of work and service. On this basis, professionals were expected not to abuse their privileged status and their autonomy is justified based upon such trust (Halliday, 1987).

From the mid-1990s, however, professionalism has been widely applied to previously 'non-professional' sectors and many new occupational groups have arisen insisting that they themselves are also professionals. Since then, as many professionalism studies have admitted, it is no longer possible to define professionalism by participation in a given occupational group, and the term professional has become somewhat ambiguous. In this sense, Evetts (2013) suggested that an operational definition of professional would be the most appropriate way to determine which occupation is professional in this era, and she identified three main characteristics of a professional occupation: 1) involving higher education and training; 2) having a strong peer network that has the same license(s); and 3) controlling the labour market and working processes.

Given such ambiguity and the challenges in determining whether a given role is 'professional', it is beyond the scope of this work to conclusively argue whether or not the PD occupation fits with the definitional criteria of traditional professionalism; however it does seem that many of the characteristics of Korean television PDs accord with the above conditions. For the first condition (higher education and training), as explained in Chapter 3.3, most broadcasters require prospective PDs to have a higher level of education and almost all PDs are involved in the Doje training system as soon as they begin their organisational life at a television organisation. In the process, PDs learn not only specialised skills and knowledge, but also the implicit culture and tacit rules within the field. With the second condition (strong peer network), as we shall see throughout the current sub-chapter, PDs begin to establish their own strong peer network within each organisation, and come to have a strong sense of camaraderie with the PD group across other organisations. In respect to the third condition (professionals control the labour market and working conditions), although PDs have historically been understood as an employed labourer in broadcasting organisations, some of the current changes in the Korean PD labour market strongly suggest the possibility that PDs have greater power to control the PD labour market and the production process. However, as we shall see, there is still a gap in the perceptions of the professional capacity of a PD between the PDs themselves, the organisation and the market. Based on the characteristics of a professional occupation, the next section will examine the starting point of the construction process of a PD's professional identity, which, in contrast to other professions, is constructed through the organisational environment.

5.2.2. The professional identity that is formulated within the organisation

1) The organisation-based professionalisation process

For most PDs, the first two conditions of professionalism/professional identity (namely, intensive training and a strong peer network) are constructed within the organisational environment. To be qualified as a professional Main PD in an organisation, several years of training (the so-called Doje system, see Chapter 2.4) are normally required. Each interviewee experienced slightly different standards in the required length of training to become a professional and similarly trained their own juniors for differing lengths of time, but on average, most interviewees stated that approximately 7 to 8 years are needed for an individual to become capable of producing a programme as a professional PD in the entertainment genre (Interviewee JL, JJ, BM, EH, HJ, EK, and JP). Many interviewees believed that the Doje system is still the best way to learn the complex and various roles of an individual Main PD. Unlike typical vocational schools, there is no fixed training manual in the Doje system; rather, as I indicated briefly in Chapter 2, PDs in the early stages of their career belong to their senior PDs' production team and learn experientially from their superiors.

Regarding Doje training, interviewees particularly emphasised the importance of accumulating actual experience of the programme production process at an established television organisation. Although it is very important to acquire technological skills during this training period, the majority of interviewees observed that it is much more important to have a wide variety of experience in the various styles of programme production to become established as a professional.

The entertainment genre is divided into various concepts, such as location filming or studio-based programmes...and each concept uses different technological approaches. PDs need to experience each concept to have the confidence to make any type of programme in the future as a Main PD.

Interviewee JL

Due to the importance of acquiring experience at the early career stage, it is widely perceived that the numerous private educational bodies are not capable of replacing on-the-job training within an organisation. All interviewees denied the possibility that the curricula of private media institutions or media colleges (including universities) could replace the role of the organisation-based training system for a PD.

In terms of technological skills and knowledge, you can probably learn it from private media institutions. But merely knowing something is totally different from actually doing it. Compared to medicine or law, the level of specialised knowledge needed by a Main PD is not that high. Instead, the quantity of actual experience that a PD has determines most things. This kind of heuristic knowledge cannot be acquired through mere practice as a student. Junior PDs need to learn within the field, where there is no allowance for amateurs and the expectation of output is still professional.

Interviewee EK

In addition, PDs construct strong human relationship with their colleagues.

The biggest difference between private institutions and the Doje system within a broadcaster is that people can experience human relationships, which is only possible within an actual organisation. To make a programme that could make audiences happy, PDs first need to learn how to deal with emotional communication with their colleagues in the production process. It is not something that could be learned in a classroom.

Interviewee HWS

By experiencing many conflicts while working in a team, PDs not only learn how to communicate with people, but also build their future peer network. This becomes one of the most important assets for a successful career as a PD. When an established Main PD moves to another organisation, they tend to move with a group of close colleagues: for instance, in 2011, when a senior entertainment show PD, Myung-Han Lee, moved to CJ E&M from KBS, other PDs in the same team also moved (Young-Seok Nah, Won-Ho Shin, Seok-Hyun Kim, among others) (Cho, 2011).

It can therefore be seen that by accumulating not only specialised knowledge and skills but also a strong network, PDs begin to construct their professional identity within the organisational environment. In this sense, it could be said that entering into an organisation that can offer proper training and an experienced and established group of colleagues is an indispensable condition for becoming established in the PD labour market.

2) The closed community of professional PDs

Historically, conventional professionals had an exclusive right to specialised knowledge and skills, and with such exclusivity, professionals acted as a powerful occupational group that was able to dominate and control both the market and other factors in the field. Although the PD group do not have such dominant power over the field, the tendency to value experience, and the importance of a strong peer network, implies that professional PDs also share the perception of a closed community of professionals. Indeed, throughout the interviews, I observed a distinctive shared attitude: while interviewees expressed camaraderie with other PDs beyond those of their own organisation, they displayed some disdain for other occupations and functions, even within their own organisation. Presumably, this is in part because of the fact that the typical process of entertainment programme production is similar

among many broadcasting companies, and almost all PDs experience a very analogous route of training throughout the career development process. Although each PD experiences a somewhat different training process within different organisations, the skills and knowledge they learn are perceived to be transferable across other organisations. Due to this, PDs tend to recognise other PDs in different organisations as people who use the same language and share similar characteristics. Interviewee EH explained this tendency: “Strangely, when I move to another organisation, the only people I can call ‘bro’ are PDs. I never do that to people in other departments”. In addition, many interviewees identified several typical characteristics found in a PD: *individualistic, disobedient, born-free, passionate, idealistic, and frontier spirit*. Such characteristics are linked to the tendency to value autonomy in the workplace. Although PDs in different organisations have little opportunity to meet in person, it appears that PDs have a strong feeling of camaraderie with other PDs, as they believe one another share similar experiences in their training and the career development process. As we shall see, however, this camaraderie is not necessarily linked to the independent activities of professional PDs outside of the organisation due to the strong sense of organisational identity.

At the same time, this tight sense of camaraderie transforms into a closed attitude toward people who do not have ‘proper’ training experience within programme production teams. In particular, many interviewees found it difficult if they must deal with organisational interventions from senior members who did not have previous experience as a PD. Interviewee WL confidently said that he could identify whether or not an organisational member understood the specificity of programme production with a ten-minute conversation.

At times, we meet some senior staff who do not have any basic technological knowledge of broadcasting—something that even junior PDs, who have just one year of experience, should know. In that situation, I sometimes even need to write

a report that describes the process of basic technologies for the ignorant people. From that point, I start to ignore them inwardly.

Interviewee WL

In the same vein, Interviewee SL shared specific experience about a somewhat absurd order from the CEO.

The CEO was a purely business man, who only cared about ratings and the profits of the company. He wanted to increase the overall viewership ratings figures of the channel, but at the same time, he didn't want to invest any additional production cost. So his solution was...to make a kind of compilation version of old programmes, by re-editing the videotapes of programmes that had finished airing. But our company only kept the master tapes of previous programmes [not the original, unedited film], which are full of sophisticated computer graphics...and of course the audio channels are also all tuned into one combined channel, which means it is impossible to re-edit it into a new proper programme. Everybody knew why it was technologically impossible, but he didn't. We needed to explain the reason, but he couldn't understand what we were saying.

Interviewee SL

The story SL shared shows the lack of understanding of the specificity of the programme production process among business people in broadcasting organisations and their unwillingness to offer a good level of creative autonomy to professional PD employees. At moments like this, PDs feel frustrated by their limited status as an employed labourer, as they cannot adamantly point out that managers are overstepping their professional understanding and capacity. Due to the repetition of such experiences throughout their careers, many interviewees admitted that their closed attitudes towards out-group people

(non-PDs) intensified as their career progressed.

Since the organisational status of employed labourers is an important foundation upon which to accumulate needed experience, the conflict between an individual's professional and organisational identities is to be expected. Also, due to the tendency that Korean entertainment show programmes are still largely produced with an in-house production system⁴², most PDs who wish to be an entertainment genre PD need to belong to a stable broadcasting organisation, at least until they have become professionalised. Thus, the conflicts between organisational and professional identities are unavoidable, and in some ways, these are understood to be a necessary evil when developing a PD career. As we shall see in the following sections, the closer PDs come to attaining professional status, the more apparent the conflicts become between a PD's different desires as both an employed labourer and a professional.

5.2.3. Conflicting identities: employed creative labourer versus creative professional

During interviews, I asked the same question to all interviewees: How do you understand yourself as a PD—an employed creative labourer or a creative professional? The majority of interviewees tended to emphasise that they did not think of themselves as a common salary man, and many used the word 'creator'⁴³ to describe their working status as a PD. In particular, the following detailed script of the interview with JP allows us to understand the complex feelings about working status that a creative labourer has.

⁴² In the entertainment genre, even if a programme production is outsourced to a production company, one or more full-time employee PDs of the broadcaster are typically in charge of the whole production.

⁴³ In Korean language, 창작자

Researcher	How do you understand yourself as a PD—an employed creative labourer or a creative professional?
Interviewee JP	I think I'm a creator.
Researcher	But don't you belong to the organisation?
Interviewee JP	Yes...then...I'm also an employed labourer.
Researcher	Which side do you think is closer?
Interviewee JP	Well, I think I'm more of a creator. Because PDs need to constantly think about something. If the thinking process is also included in the labourer process, then I could be defined as a labourer. But for me, the word employed labourer describes a typical salary man, not creators like PDs. Well, I think I can say it in this way—I know I'm working as an employed labourer, but I recognise myself as a creator.

Interviewee JJ, who presented the strongest cognitive attachment to his company, also strongly emphasised that PDs should not think of themselves as mere labourers.

Probably no one single PD would think of themselves as a mere labourer. We should work creatively all the time, and we are the people who create a good and enjoyable message for a better society. For me, as an entertainment show PD, I always think that I have a mission to make a good programme that could make audiences perceive the world more positively.

Interviewee JJ

Regarding the difficulty to clearly define the working status of PDs between professional and employed labourer, Interviewee HJ expressed a somewhat cynical view about the dualistic attitude of organisations.

It is very clever indeed. The organisation and the media market environment encourage us to recognise ourselves as creative professionals. Many insist we PDs need to nurture our working capacity up to the professional level, but at the same time, they argue we need to be creative constantly. However, our product is eventually for the public viewers, and we need to make profit from it anyhow. So, in the end, I began to realise that we are nothing but just an employed labourer, who works by exploiting our own creativity and professionalism to make a profitable product for the broadcaster.

Interviewee HJ

It appeared that such a feeling of separation between the organisational identity and professional identity has intensified among relatively young PDs due to the recent changes within the PD labour market. Until the mid-2000s, when the conventional hierarchical structure between terrestrial broadcasters and other television organisations remained powerful and the new forms of media consumption had not yet remarkably progressed, PDs were primarily understood as an organisational member of a broadcaster. It was not common to apply traditional professionalism to PDs, although all organisations encouraged each PD to reach a professional level. Since the organisation bears the whole training cost of junior PDs during the Doje training period and PDs utilise both tangible and intangible organisational assets during the production process, PDs perceived it as somewhat unreasonable to insist on exclusive rights to their specialised knowledge and skills as a professional. In addition, there has historically been a perspective that PDs who were working at a stable broadcaster were very lucky people as they were offered a rare opportunity to be a creative worker within a handful of television organisations. Such a strong organisational identity was clear in interviews with JJ and SP, who both have relatively longer careers (30 years and 24 years respectively). Interviewee JJ, who has worked in the most traditional broadcaster in Korea for his whole career as a PD, clearly

expressed his deep gratitude to his organisation, which offered him the opportunity to become a PD.

It's been about 30 years since I entered into [my company], and I'm so grateful to my organisation. First and foremost, I have enjoyed a career with the work that I love so much. Probably there are not many people who truly love their work...but I do. So I always think I was lucky, and I'm thankful to the organisation for giving me such a great opportunity.

Interviewee JJ

Similarly, Interviewee SP, who had been working in the same cable broadcaster for his entire career, also showed strong cognitive attachment to the organisation.

As I get old, I come to realise that I need this organisation to maintain my life as a PD. Because I know that I have been able to continue my PD career thanks to this organisation.

Interviewee SP

Likewise, relatively older members of the PD group seemed to view the relationship between a broadcaster and a PD as one between an employer and employee, because for them, their broadcasting organisations enabled them to work as a PD. The fact that the level of mobility within the PD labour market was very low during their heydays as entertainment PDs also acted as another factor.

However, for those interviewees who were relatively young, with only 9 to 16 years of experience, it appeared that the same relationship was perceived somewhat differently.

Younger Main PDs tended to understand their current employer as a temporary workplace, and many said that they were very open to the possibility of moving to another organisation in the near future. For younger PDs, it seemed that the relationship between a broadcaster and a PD is understood as a kind of partnership—while the broadcaster organisation offers them the needed resources to make a programme, professional PDs believe that they provide not only their specialised knowledge and skills but also their creativity to the organisation. Thus, if PDs judge that their organisation does not fit with their needs as a professional and creative individual, other broadcasters could be an alternative option.

Presumably, such a generation gap in the perception of the relationship between a broadcaster and a PD is derived from the recent changes in the Korean entertainment television industry—specifically, the gradually diminishing power of terrestrial broadcasters is due to the growing influence of a few private cable broadcasters. As I briefly described in Chapter 3.3, from late 2011 onwards, many entertainment show PDs in the three major terrestrial broadcasters (KBS, MBC and SBS) have instead begun to move to other organisations (cable broadcasters, production companies, and Chinese production companies), despite the fact that they have thus far enjoyed the most stable and secure workplaces that PDs could experience in the Korean television industry. Instead of remaining in secure and promising employment, they chose to build their status as an independent professional in the labour market by assertively seeking to raise their transfer fee⁴⁴ and to improve their working conditions and the level of creative autonomy. For example, between 2011 and 2012, fourteen entertainment show PDs left KBS and moved to a few rising cable broadcasters (such as CJ E&M and JTBC) (Interviewee JJ), and in the same period, several

⁴⁴ When broadcasting organisations attempt to scout a sufficiently professionalised PD from another television company, they typically offer a substantial one-off payment to them. Since most PDs have previously worked as an ordinary employed labourer, the proposed amount of money is usually perceived as a fortune. Thus, the high level of a one-off payment that the transferred PDs receive is known among PDs as a ‘transfer fee’.

entertainment show PDs at both MBC and SBS also moved to cable broadcasters where a large amount of budget was being invested into in-house production of entertainment shows (see Chapter 3.3). At the time of writing, more PDs from the three terrestrial broadcasters have moved to cable broadcasters and production companies having receiving high transfer fees, and a few popular entertainment show PDs at MBC have even moved to China, where they are now involved in a Chinese entertainment programme production.

Considering the powerful reputation of the three major terrestrial broadcasters, such recent changes in the entertainment PD labour market were somewhat striking, both to the market and to audiences. Until the mid-2000s, the programme quality of cable broadcasters was still regarded as much lower than that of the major terrestrial broadcasters, and audiences largely believed that the most fashionable and highest quality entertainment shows in Korea were on terrestrial channels. For cable broadcasters, it was indeed nearly impossible to compete with the top three terrestrial broadcasters due to limited budgets and low levels of audience access. Due to this, most graduates who wished to become a PD first approached terrestrial broadcasters. However, this has begun to change recently and a few cable broadcasters have successfully launched new trends and talents through innovative programmes.

Interestingly, at the time of writing, it is not hard to find evidence that the three terrestrial broadcasters are copying several popular programme concepts from cable broadcasters: for instance, the current trend for cookery shows in the Korean entertainment genre was started by cable broadcasters, primarily CJ E&M and JTBC. CJ E&M had a specialised cookery show channel *O'live* for a long time⁴⁵, and it has produced several food shows, such as

⁴⁵ Channel *O'live* was first launched in 2000 as *Channel F*, but changed its name in 2002 to *Food Channel*. In 2005, it relaunched as *O'live*.

Master Chef in Korea (from 2012), *Korean Food War* (한식대첩) (from 2013), and *Tasty Road* (from 2013). Meanwhile, the relatively young CPC broadcaster, JTBC, launched a programme called *Take Care of my Fridge* (냉장고를 부탁해) in November 2014, and the programme created many star chefs. Having witnessed the massive popularity of cooking and food shows, the three terrestrial broadcasters then competitively started to adopt the concept and launched several food shows themselves. For example, MBC launched *Seven Trenchermen* (7인의 식객) in 2014; SBS launched *Cooking Korea* in 2015; and KBS launched *The God of the Table* (밥상의 신) in 2014. However, all three programmes from terrestrial broadcasters ended very shortly with poor ratings⁴⁶, and failed to show any distinctiveness that was able to lead a new trend. Moreover, the three major terrestrial broadcasters recently cast several star chefs who had gained a good reputation through the programmes of the cable broadcasters to existing terrestrial talk shows (either as hosts or by introducing a new cooking segment). When considering the past dominance of the three major broadcasters, the current situation is somewhat ironic as the terrestrial broadcasters are now following the lead of the cable broadcasters.

If alongside the recent decrease of performances of the three major television organisations, we also consider the point at which outflows of PD labour from the terrestrial broadcasters began (from 2011 onward), it would seem that the movement of manpower had a great influence on the activities of the broadcasters. Indeed, the majority of PDs who have recently

⁴⁶ *Seven Trenchermen*, MBC, ended after 13 episodes (from 30th May to 29th August 2014); *Cooking Korea*, SBS, ended after 12 episodes (from 31st October 2014 to 23rd January 2015); and *The God of the Table*, KBS, ended after 24 episodes (from 10th April to 6th November 2014). When considering the fact that terrestrial broadcasters tend to offer relatively longer than cable broadcasters to establish awareness of the programmes, these three shows were perceived to finish at a very early stage.

generated high ratings at CJ E&M and JTBC were previously employed by one of the three terrestrial broadcasters.⁴⁷

What factors influenced those PDs who decided to move and thereby give up a stable organisational life? As observed with the interview of Anonymous in Chapter 3.3.2 (pp.86-87), the majority of PDs who moved to another broadcaster (often one with a relatively poorer reputation than their previous organisation) argued that they had chosen to leave their promising and stable employment due to a gradually decreasing level of autonomy as creative labourer. This implies that the organisational working conditions did not meet with the PDs' desires as a creative professional. Meanwhile, as seen with the interview of HJ in Chapter 3.3.2 (p.86), PDs who moved from one of the three major terrestrial broadcasters to a CPC channel in 2011, considered the opportunities to produce a programme in the new organisation to be great.

Since Interviewee JJ was the Director of the Entertainment Production Department of a terrestrial broadcaster between 2010 and 2012, he experienced the process of fourteen entertainment show PDs leaving his department. As a director, losing fourteen team members at once damaged his career. As noted in Chapter 3.3.2 (pp.85-86), JJ said he did everything to stop them, but his attempts were not successful. Although it seemed that he wanted to emphasise the scouting fee as the prime factor that made PDs leave the company, he also admitted that the level of creative autonomy of professional PDs in the broadcaster was somewhat restricted.

⁴⁷ For example, Young-Seok Nah at CJ E&M, who has produced several popular shows (*Three Meals for Three Times* [삼시세끼], *Better Late Than Never* [꽃보다 할배]), and Seung-Wook Cho who produced *Hidden Singer* at JTBC, both moved from KBS in 2011.

Clearly, at [my company], there are some situations that PDs cannot produce a programme in the way they individually want. The decision making process of [my company] is quite complex due to the large scale of the organisation—so after numerous meetings for a new programme launch, in many cases, the initial programme concept tends to be changed. Many PDs feel frustration when the organisational environment is not favourable to push forward their own programme design.

Interviewee JJ

After experiencing the significant loss of manpower, the three major broadcasters began to recruit experienced entertainment PDs from outside (cable broadcasters and production companies), especially those who had around 2 to 5 years of experience. In 2015, MBC even announced that the company would no longer recruit non-experienced graduates and would only select experienced workers (Kim, 2015). For junior PDs who had started their career at a somewhat 'lower classed' organisation (see Chapter 3.3), and were not yet established as a Main PD, such changes in the recruitment process of major broadcasters were a great opportunity to upgrade their 'class'. Indeed, among PDs who did not begin their career in the terrestrial broadcasters, there is still a desire to become a PD at a major terrestrial broadcaster. Interestingly, however, Seok-Hyun Kim, who moved to CJ E&M from KBS in 2011, found himself expressing somewhat discordant feelings during a discussion held via his personal Facebook profile with his junior PD who is moving to KBS.

Today, one of the best PDs in our team, who just passed the KBS entry exam for experienced PDs, wanted to talk with me [...] Unconsciously, I started to say better things of TvN⁴⁸ compared to KBS [...] then this guy asked me to mention better things of KBS. Well, what would it be? Higher job stability? His parents

⁴⁸ A channel of CJ E&M

would prefer KBS to CJ E&M? Probably when he gets married, his father-in-law would also love it? Then what else? Hmm, surprisingly, not much.

(S.-H. Kim, 2015)

Considering the recent movements of Main PDs in the entertainment genre, no one is able to guarantee that junior PDs who choose to move to terrestrial broadcasters will remain there until their later career stages. The recent changes in the PD labour market between the three major terrestrial broadcasters and a few cable broadcasters are visualised in Figure 5.2.

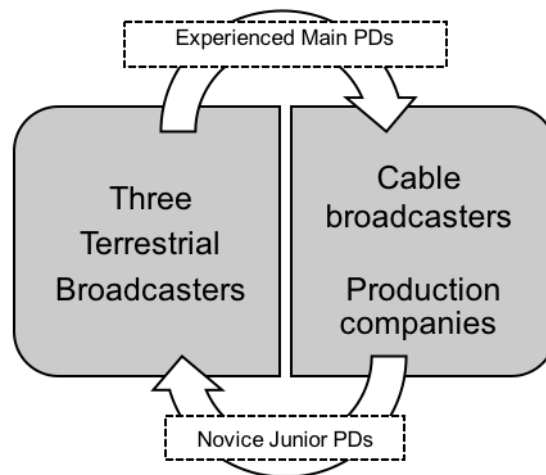


Figure 5.2

Recent movements of PD labour in the Korean television industry

With regard to the fact that such active movement among PDs continues to be observed at the time of writing, this phenomenon may not be a mere temporary change. Continuation of the trend implies that experienced PDs increasingly recognise themselves as independent professionals who wish to actively manage their own careers by moving from one organisation to another. Although it is hard to judge whether or not a few cable broadcasters

and production companies are actually offering an ideal level of creative autonomy to professional PDs, the willingness of established PDs to abandon the most stable and secure life as a tenure employee certainly suggests that such organisations provide considerable merit and rewards to PDs, also implying that the desires of a PD based on their professional identity become increasingly salient as their career develops. To ensure stable organisational performance and sustainable creative development within a given broadcaster, this therefore leads us to rethink the importance of developing a proper management strategy for creative professionals by offering them a good level of creative autonomy and suitable working conditions.

5.2.4. The fragility of the professional identity of a PD

1) Professional identity without mastery

Although PDs increasingly identify themselves as professional, it appeared that PDs find it difficult to confidently insist on their professional capacity based on their career history because of the huge uncertainty and unpredictability of television programmes and audience reactions. Dissimilarly to artistic craft work or traditional professional occupations, which develop a kind of mastery based on the length of career and the level of craft skills, the length of experience and a previously successful career history do not unconditionally guarantee the success of a PD's next product nor its high quality. In the cultural/creative industries, Louis L'Amour's popular quote is apt: 'The only thing that never changes is that everything changes'. Interviewee JL candidly expressed her anxiety regarding the uncertainty of her professional capacity.

I often tell this story to my junior PDs—if I were a water deliveryman, by now I might be able to make a delivery even with my eyes shut. But this job, PD, cannot be like that. We cannot be a master artisan or craftsman at the later

career stages, even if we do this work for more than 20 years. Such uncertainty and ambiguity make us endlessly anxious. This work is actually very hard in some ways.

Interviewee JL

As indicated earlier in sub-chapter 5.1, the uncertain nature of cultural products cannot easily be handled with mere formularised skills or through copying and reproducing previously successful programme concepts. Similarly, although a PD has a very successful career history based on many popular programmes, they always need to deal with different audience needs and market trends to make a new programme. However, this does not mean that the importance of specialised knowledge or skills acquired through experience is low: the professional identity of a PD should be built on the basic conditions of a professional PD. In addition to this however, PDs need another crucial capacity to continue their professional careers—*adaptability to newness*.

With the question as to whether or not a PD is professional, several interviewees pointed out that the most important professional capacity of a PD is to be sensitive to any changes in the television industry. Interviewees also stressed that PDs should be willing to continually learn new things, such as technologies, trends, social atmospheres, market changes and so on, to successfully continue in their career. For example, regarding the increasingly commercialised entertainment show industry, many interviewees highlighted that PDs now also need to learn business-related knowledge to make an effective and creative programme.

PDs are not expected to make a programme only based on their own preferences any more. The importance of marketing has gradually intensified,

and current PDs should consider this as well—how can we blend the needs of advertisers within our programme in an artistic way?

Interviewee SP

Interviewee WL shared a more detailed example that shows the awareness and understanding of the market structure and media business by PDs.

In terms of [a programme], the production budget for one episode was 74 million KRW. Normally for one season, we make 15 episodes in total. Then the whole production budget is approximately 1.1 to 1.2 billion KRW. But thanks to the previous success of the series with great ratings figures, we successfully attained corporate sponsorship of about 600 million KRW. Also, before the start of the new season, the advertisement slots were already sold-out. If things go like that, the show can unconditionally generate profits. Then the company starts to sell advertisement slots as packages to the advertisers, by letting them buy advertisement slots for other programmes together—achieving additional profits. By observing and being involved in these processes, we PDs also become familiar with such business strategies of the television market, and now we consider how to utilise these things for the design of a new programme.

Interviewee WL

Presumably, in the future, PDs would be required to acquire other new skills or knowledge. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the value of the unique role of PD is easily diminished. Rather, the role of PD labourer progresses with the changes of the market.

2) Increasing power of marketing and the changing role of PD

It has often been assumed that marketing, promotion, or celebrities would lead consumers'

attention and the role of sophisticated market analysis that reads consumer tastes and preferences becomes more important than the roles of cultural producers (Frith, 2000). However, as I discussed in sub-chapter 5.1, consumer behaviour analysis is unlikely to automatically start the next new trend without the proper involvement of a PD. The production of a programme is a communication process between the market, consumers, and a producer, and the PD of the programme acts as the leader of this communication, by balancing out the audiences' needs and various market values with their own insights as a creative producer. Such a process is built upon their specialised knowledge, skills and experience as a professional. Indeed, when asked whether marketing analysis could replace the PD role, the majority of interviewees were very confident about the future role of PD.

I think no one can replace the PD role. And that's why I think PD is a professional. The distinctive role of PD is to find and generate a hidden story from within the existing raw material. Of course, some could argue that [a music show programme] is somewhat formularised—it could be perceived that the programme is always the same. However, the PD of the programme is constantly making a new programme with new Idol singers, and designing a new concept for each star singer with every show. The PD generates a new story for the singers within the existing framework of the programme. That is something that could be done only by a proper PD.

Interviewee JP

In particular, with the development of the television format business in the entertainment genre, many have begun to doubt the genuine role of television producers and directors as creative professionals. Briefly speaking, when a production team produces a formatted programme, they must follow guidelines (denoted by what is known as the 'bible'). The bible contains almost all information regarding the production of each episode, from the method of

casting to the number of video cameras. Even though the programme exporters do not force production teams to follow all the guidelines, freedom to transform the programme is largely constrained and local productions need to make the programme as similar to the original version as possible. When a local broadcasting company buys a programme format, it generally expects both a low production budget and the benefits of brand power from the success of the original programme. In many cases, broadcasters tend to assume that importing a license would be much safer and cheaper than making a new prototype programme. Based on this perspective, the role of a PD who produces a formatted programme is perceived as more of a typical labourer who follows given guidelines, than a creative professional who brings his or her own creativity.

However, according to an interview with the PD of *Project Runway Korea*, since the production budget of the Korean version was far less than that of the American show (about one tenth), reducing cost was the biggest issue for the Korean production team (Choi, 2009). Additionally, the Korean production team needed to 'Koreanise' the programme to meet the tastes of local audiences and specific Korean culture. It is clear that such information is not in the bible. Interviewee SL also observed that the bible of a formatted programme does not guarantee the quality of the result without the proper involvement of an entertainment show PD.

In terms of entertainment shows, especially for reality television show programmes, truly many variables occur during the production process, including the shooting and editing stages. If a PD has experience as a Main PD, he knows how to deal with unexpected variables throughout the production process. Established Main PDs should know how to effectively organise all materials into one programme based on his own working style but without damaging the original concept of the show. We consider how to amplify the original narratives in the bible within the Korean context. Such things cannot be done with bibles or

original production teams.

Interviewee SL

During all interviews, I raised the question of the value of professional PDs in the Korean entertainment television industry. Many interviewees struggled to articulate the meaning of 'value', and the majority of them initially interpreted my question as being about the financial value of a PD in the market.⁴⁹ After explaining the intention of the question (the possibility of the PD role being replaced), Interviewee EK interestingly used the expression 'product line' when describing the value of a PD, which was an interesting juxtaposition to the initial negative response to the economic value of the role as this was also a dehumanised concept.

I think a well-established PD is a kind of well-launched product line. If a PD is well trained, the possibility that they will create better programmes should be higher, like a new product based on a well-established brand. Of course, it does not guarantee unconditional success, but probably the batting average will be much higher than non-experienced young PDs. Even if the selling figure of one product is low, probably the stability and the quality of the product will be greater than novice PDs.

Interviewee EK

Likewise, although PDs well recognised the fragility of the professional status of PD due to

⁴⁹ Many interviewees initially responded negatively to the question because they first assumed that I was trying to assess the economic value of PD manpower. After explaining that the question was specifically about the possibility of PD labour being replaced with the advent of sophisticated market analysis and the format business, almost all interviewees once again became comfortable. Although I quickly realised that the question made some interviewees uncomfortable, I nonetheless maintained the same question and question order throughout all interviews to allow me to compare each interviewee's attitude.

the uncertain and unpredictable nature of the media industry, it appeared that they also believed that the professional capacity of a PD is the crucial tool to overcome uncontrollable market trends, audience behaviours, and the limitations of the few advanced technologies of media production that are employed (such as market trend analysis and the format bible). In this sense, it could be said that the fragility of the professional capacity of a PD also acts as a powerful motivator for professional PDs to keep ahead of the fashions of the television industry. This is in line with traditional professionalism, which views professionals as people who deal with risk and uncertainty based on their expert knowledge (Evetts, 2014).

3) Lack of collective activities amongst professional PDs

Traditionally, many have condemned the exclusivity of a few professional groups, which tend to use their privileged status and autonomy for their own economic interests, rather than for the benefit of society (Freidson, 2001). However, at the same time, the importance of occupational control of the work by the professional themselves has been continually emphasised as a crucial condition to maintain the professional quality of work (Evetts, 2013). Much academic research has also shown that professionals who are part of a collective professional community can assertively expand and renew their expert knowledge and bring new insights to both their field and society when they are able to control their working process (DiMaggio, 1991; Rao et al., 2003; Suddaby & Viale, 2011). However, the organisational identities of the current entertainment show PDs seemed to prevent them from organising such a community beyond their organisational boundaries. This acts as another factor in the fragility of the professional capacity in the Korean television industry.

Throughout interviews, the majority of interviewees were somewhat cynical about the potential to undertake collective activities with entertainment show PDs outside their

organisation. In particular, many were very pessimistic about whether there would be a common aim between PDs from different organisations, and they suspected that such an external professional PD group could be used for the self-interests of a few privileged people in PD society. Although there is an official body that represents the group of Korean PDs (Korean Producers and Directors' Association, KPDA), KPDA mostly represents the PD groups that belong to terrestrial broadcasters (including local terrestrial broadcasters): if one becomes a PD at a terrestrial broadcaster, he or she is automatically granted KPDA membership. At the time of writing, KPDA does not approve the membership of PDs in cable broadcasters or other production companies. Thus, it is very unlikely that KPDA could act independently beyond organisational boundaries and a PD's professional identity in this context is based upon their organisational identity.

Interviewee HJ pointed out that it might not be possible to set a common aim for the entire entertainment show PD group, as each PD's employment status (freelance, part-time or full-time) varies, as does their organisation. Interviewee JL also had a somewhat cynical attitude toward the idea of a professional community and stressed that it is not an option for Korean PDs.

It's a matter of the employment type. As you know, most PDs are an employed labourer. We know that PDs would not be able to take the copyright of their own creation, even if their programmes make billions in profit. Probably we should be satisfied with a few incentives. But we know we need to follow this, because in Korea, powerful entertainment show PDs all belong to a broadcasting organisation. Although there is KIPDA [Korean Independent Producers & Directors Association], it is powerless.

Interviewee JL

Again, since a stable organisational status is an indispensable condition to a successful career as a PD, interviewees seemed to be very reluctant to act independently as a professional in the field, as it could harm their relationship with their organisation. In some ways, it seemed that they were not much interested in forming a professional community of PDs. In particular, many interviewees were very cynical about the necessarily ambiguous conditions for joining a professional PD group.

Since the PD training is based on the Doje system, every PD has different experiences according to the style of their organisation. So I think it will be very hard to properly judge the level of a professional PD. For example, based on the length of career, an association for PDs could probably make recommendations to all broadcasters about appropriate payment of PDs; it would certainly help PDs' careers and their quality of life. But the length of career itself does not say anything about the professional capacity of a PD. Eventually, a PD's career is dependent on the individual self, and their career is protected by their organisation. And the organisation would not like interventions from outside.

Interviewee JP

In Western television labour markets, such as the UK or US, where the career trajectories of creative labourers are largely dependent on project-based employment, career development has already become massively individualised. Since media workers have increasingly lost their organisational status, they have been required to shape their own professional careers within the labour market by managing their own career histories and reputations (Eikhof et al., 2012). Within this situation, it becomes more important for media workers to maintain a good network among peer labourers, as this is the primary source of future employment. In the context of such individualised careers, Deuze and Lewis (2013) suggested the need to invent a new institutional body for professional media labourers, which enables them to

control their own career and identity beyond conventional industrial boundaries.

As I indicated above, the Korean television labour market has also started to experience the active movement of PDs between organisations, and PDs increasingly perceive their relationship with broadcasting organisations as a flexible and temporary status. From the market and audience's points of view, the relationship between a particular programme and a specific broadcaster's name also becomes increasingly weak. For instance, according to a survey conducted by Gilyoung Song of Daum Communication, the association of the broadcaster, MBC, with the programme *Infinite Challenge* (무한도전)⁵⁰ is gradually decreasing: analysis of related search terms on the Internet from 2012 to 2015 revealed that the level of association of the programme with the broadcaster has dropped down from 3rd to 16th place (Song, 2015). At the same time, the survey also showed that audiences increasingly associated the programme with the name of the PD. This is another indicator that suggests that PDs will become increasingly independent within the labour market in the future based on their own individual reputation and professional capacity. From this perspective, Interviewee SL was optimistic about the possibility of launching a new type of association for professional PDs.

Until now, PDs have been separated by organisational boundaries. But I think we will need a horizontally structured association for PDs in a specific genre soon. You know, even KBS PDs started to move to other broadcasters, and I think the increasing transfer fee of PDs means that broadcasters value professional PDs for their development. Probably, PDs in different organisations will soon have a common aim based on their membership of the professional community, for their negotiation with organisations about working conditions, proper wages, or

⁵⁰ One of the most popular, successful, and long-standing entertainment shows in Korea, first aired on 23rd April 2005. The Main PD (Tae-Ho Kim) remains unchanged at the time of writing.

copyrights.

Interviewee SL

Although current PDs tended to feel restricted in assertively seeking their own professional activities outside the organisation, the increasing mobility in the PD labour market and shifting audience perceptions are likely to lead to another phase in entertainment PD labour. In the process, the importance of the professional identity of a PD will gradually rise in the future Korean television industry, for both PDs themselves and organisations.

5.2.5. Concluding remarks:

the paradoxical relationship between professional and organisational identities

Throughout this chapter, I have identified the paradoxical relationships between the broadcasting organisations and PDs throughout the professionalisation process. To become professionalised, PDs need to belong to a stable television organisation and must acquire necessary knowledge and skills through the Doje training period. Although there are plenty of private broadcasting institutions, interviewees asserted that such external education bodies are not capable of replacing the organisation-based on-the-job training system. Through intensive training, PDs also construct their peer network and professional contacts, which in turn forms the foundation for their future career development. Although PDs come to identify themselves as professional by sharing specific experiences and the culture of PD society with colleagues, they tend not to exert their independent desires as a professional until they have become sufficiently established in the field.

Meanwhile, with the recent changes in the Korean entertainment television labour market, the level of mobility has dramatically increased, and this has simultaneously resulted in an

increased sense of professional identity among younger PDs. A large number of PDs at the three major terrestrial broadcasters have outflowed to the PD trade market, and their movement into a few rising private cable broadcasters has been linked to the unprecedented success of entertainment programmes outside terrestrial broadcasters. This implies that the level of dependency on the organisation is decreasing as the process of professionalisation progresses. At the same time, this means that the importance of managing professional PD manpower is increasing for broadcasting organisations. In this sense, television organisations are required to understand the multiple desires of an individual PD and to find a management strategy that supports the professional identity of PDs. At the same time, the gradually weakening bonds between the organisation and an individual PD leads us to consider the possibility of a new type of professional association for PDs, which exists and exerts influence beyond organisational boundaries.

Traditionally, the concept of organisation and professional has been regarded as 'incompatible', as the hierarchical structure of an organisation restricts the autonomy of professional employees (Beam, 1988). However, it has long been thought that for the sustainable development of an organisation an optimal relationship between organisation and professional is needed for the co-development of both players (Blau & Scott, 1962; Hall, 1968). When it comes to the case of entertainment show PDs, the recent phenomenon in the PD labour market signifies the importance of mutual cooperation between organisation and the professional PD group. Since the PD career is almost certain to become more individualised in the near future, organisational support that can provide the minimum safety zone for stability and creativity is becoming more important for PDs. In other words, although producing something creative is an inevitably uncertain task, it is also true that the potential for innovation increases when employees are allowed to experiment within a stable working environment (Amabile & Khair, 2008). In this sense, for future professional PD manpower,

maintaining a good relationship with organisations will become more important.

On the other hand, for broadcasting organisations, figuring out how professional PDs could co-exist with organisations will become a key factor that determines the success of the broadcasting organisation. The professional identity of PDs is becoming more apparent and it seems inevitable that PDs will increasingly have a sense of independence as a professional. However, at the same time, it was clearly observed in interviews that the intrinsically motivated professional PDs, who naturally balance out multiple desires through their work, are also willing to achieve organisational needs (that is, maintaining higher viewership ratings), as shaping a stable career is also part of their professional desires. This implies that broadcasting organisations will, in the future, need to understand and encourage the professional capacity of PDs by offering a good level of professional autonomy and discretionary rights. And this should be based on a comprehension of the multiple desires of an individual PD, as both an employed labour and a professional. In the following sub-chapter, the intrinsic desires of PDs to gain enjoyment from their work as a creative self will be observed, adding the last theme to the new framework and the exploration of the multiple identities of creative labourers.

5.3. The importance of deriving ‘enjoyment’ from work

To date, one of the most widely agreed characteristics of creative labour is that creative workers tend to exhibit high levels of self-satisfaction in their creative job, even if the working conditions or the payment are less than ideal (Arvidsson et al., 2010; Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010). Many have suggested that such tendencies are based on labourers’ beliefs about the attractiveness of the work, which appears to be glamorous and to give them the opportunity to actualise themselves through creativity. From this perspective, many studies

have pointed out that such a tendency causes creative workers to be passive and vulnerable within the labour market, as the industrial structure implicitly drives creative labourers to endure a precarious working status for the promise of self-realisation (Ross, 2003). At the same time, due to the constant oversupply of individuals who wish to become a creative labourer, some have contended that the industry finds no need to raise the standards of wages or the working environment (Arvidsson et al., 2010; Ursell, 2006). When considering such discussions, in theory, creative labourers cannot be freed from the possibility of being 'precarious' in the workplace. One of the major assumptions here would be that creative labourers are motivated more by intrinsic rewards (such as meaningfulness, purpose, self-realisation, and so on) than by extrinsic rewards (such as money, fame, power, and so on), due to their high levels of desire to actualise their own creativity.

However, throughout the literature, the reasons why creative workers continue to remain in the field have not been adequately identified, especially from the workers' point of view. As Oakley (2009) and Banks (2010) pointed out, the majority of previous criticism on cultural work tended to be deeply rooted in a perceived dichotomy between art and commerce, which is somewhat of an incompatible view when applied to contemporary cultural/creative industries. When it comes to the current cultural/creative industries, it is indeed hard to insist that genuine art or creativity should be entirely freed from the pressures of commercial success. However, it is also true that creative labourers who have an intrinsic motivation to pursue their own creative ambitions are still driving the creative development of the industry. Thus, although the principle of marketability tends to rule the creative and media industries, as Toynbee (2000) emphasised with the case of music makers, the market needs to offer a certain degree of autonomy to creative workers. In a similar vein, Oakley (2009) captured the ambivalence of creative labourers in regard to the quality of their personal life versus the realisation of their creative ambitions through work. In her research, although graduates well

understood the harsh reality of making a living as a fine artist, for them, actualising their own artistic views in the field was also perceived as a very important life value. In other words, while artistic workers acknowledge the importance of economic stability, they simultaneously desire to maintain their own artistic ambitions. As we shall see throughout this sub-chapter, very similar perspectives were also observed in the case of PDs.

To date, it is also true that many mainstream studies of cultural work have tended to focus on the periphery sectors in the creative labour market, by primarily exploring somewhat selective cases of relatively young and novice cultural workers who suffer from poor working conditions while dealing with repetitive work that requires generic skills over only a short career (Arvidsson et al., 2010; Christopherson, 2008; Gill, 2002; Ross, 2003; Stahl, 2005). Also, there has been a tendency by researchers to seek out case studies that prove certain theoretical assumptions (cases that are primarily based in sociology and cultural studies traditions). By focusing on such case studies, research has illuminated the lack of glamour in the cultural/creative industries and the demands of the work by observing creative workers who are on the 'periphery' or who have a relatively short career history. Consequently, there has been little opportunity to examine how creative workers themselves perceive the specificity of creative labour, particularly in regard to the creative production process.

In addition, previous studies of cultural work have frequently divided the creative labour market into two groups: elite and non-elite, and assumed that only a handful of elite cultural workers are able to enjoy the well-known advantages of creative labour (such as creative autonomy, flexibility, a better work-life balance and so on) and have the power to dominate the market (Arvidsson et al., 2010; Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010). However, many such conclusions relied on somewhat speculative approaches, and it has been hard to find firm evidence that documents the fact that so-called elite groups of creative workers truly enjoy

ideal working conditions and creative autonomy. If applying the above definitions of elite and non-elite creative labourers, PDs would be identified as an elite group because they are the core creative manpower in the television industry in Korea and maintain their careers for a relatively long and stable period of time. However, as we closely observed the working life of PDs in previous sub-chapters (5.1 and 5.2), it has become clear that PDs do not dominate the market or enjoy exclusive privileges, so cannot be fully classified as elite, but neither are they entirely subordinated within the given structure in the sense that we might expect non-elite groups of creative workers to be. The typical working environment of a PD is very close to that of a typical employee in an organisation but at the same time, PDs presented high levels of desire as a creative self by actualising a good level of creative autonomy in their work. In this sense, it seems that defining a certain career group as either elite or non-elite does not allow the observance of the ambivalent nature of creative labour.

During all interviews, the word ‘enjoyment’⁵¹ was frequently observed when interviewees explained their perspective on the most important part of the PD career. Such tendencies among interviewees encouraged me to think about the particular value of gaining enjoyment from work in the creative labour process. As shall be discussed throughout this sub-chapter, the need for enjoyment from work was closely related to the matter of quality of life and work-life balance for PDs, such as payment, family matters, and working hours. With such issues, PDs showed a very strong sense of personal ownership and independence in their choice to work as a PD, which is somewhat different from the assumptions of previous cultural work studies. Asserting such independence was possible not because their working

⁵¹ In Korean Language, ‘재미’. As I indicated in Chapter 4, the word ‘enjoyment’ was very carefully chosen based on help from both Korean PDs and English native speakers. In this context, ‘enjoyment’ expresses the intrinsic excitement that PDs are able to derive only from creative work. As we shall see, PDs come to experience such enjoyment through moments in the creative production process that enable them to realise they are working as a creative labourer who is able to share their own creative ambitions with audiences and the market.

status was 'elite', but because they each had such a strong will to actualise their own pleasure and enjoyment through the creative production process. From this perspective, this final sub-chapter in the empirical study will seek to demonstrate that while the desire to derive personal enjoyment as a creative self can be perceived as somewhat romantic and naïve, in fact PDs both valued and sought creative enjoyment while also seeking to maintain stability and economic sustainability.

5.3.1. Experiences of enjoyment from PD work

1) First experience of a media job: earlier career stages

Presumably, the working life of an AD is the best fit with the notions of exploited creative labour in previous studies on cultural work. As I briefly indicated in Chapter 2, the quality of life of a junior PD, who does not yet have enough experience to debut as a Main PD, is typically the lowest of a PD's entire career. From my own prior experiences as a PD, it was indeed quite hard to find even enough time to buy groceries while working as an AD in an entertainment production team. All interviewees, who were all at the Main PD stage (or higher) at the time of interview, also admitted that their current junior PDs experienced a low quality of life due to heavy workloads and a lack of personal time, as did they when they were a junior PD. Interviewee HJ described his own typical working day as an AD earlier in his career.

My life as an AD...hmm...that was so harsh that I thought about changing my job (interviewee laughs). The worst weekly schedule I remember was probably when I was an AD for the programme production of [a programme]⁵². Every Sunday, I

⁵² This programme was an entertainment programme aired in 2008. The central concept of the programme was that celebrities used prosthetic make-up to transform their true identity and surprised their acquaintances or fans.

went to the office around 1am to 2am. This was the beginning of an episode production process. After interviewing the main cast (without make-up), I waited while special make-up artists transformed the celebrity's face using prosthetic make-up...this normally took 3 to 4 hours...then the main filming actually began. Location filming...normally continued until dawn the next day...which meant that I worked for almost 24 hours non-stop...The next morning, after having 3-4 hours to sleep, I would go to my office again. I was only able to have a short sleep from time to time. After finishing the editing on Sunday, I could finally go home and take a shower and have a very short break...and that night...a new week started with another celebrity.

Interviewee HJ

Interestingly, however, the majority of interviewees said that the poor quality of life was not hugely important because of the levels of enjoyment derived from the work. For instance, since most PD applicants are themselves avid television lovers, the production process of a programme itself is perceived as highly attractive and interesting to newly employed Ads. Many interviewees said that it felt like play when they first experienced the production process of an entertainment show. It appeared that such a high level of enjoyment enabled them to disregard the quality of their personal life at the earlier career stages.

When I started work as an AD, I didn't have a proper holiday for a single day during the first five years of work. If a shooting schedule was unexpectedly cancelled, it was my only holiday. Things went like that, so it was so natural to get dumped by girlfriends. I just didn't have time to meet them. But it was really OK. For me, it was very natural. Even for national holidays, such as Thanksgiving Day or Korean New Year's Day, I couldn't go to my parents' house. But I didn't feel any frustration with that. At the time, working was more enjoyable than meeting friends and family.

Interviewee WL

At that time, it was not important that I couldn't go home or eat well. I think I kept thinking about how to make the programme more enjoyable and interesting...I enjoyed the process itself very much.

Interviewee SL

In particular, many interviewees stated that PDs at the earlier career stage experience massive enjoyment when they are offered the opportunity to show and share their own views and styles to their colleagues or seniors during the training period. Typically, the first opportunity to edit a video clip was to make a short trailer (normally 30 seconds long) for an actual programme.

At first, I was swamped with a workload that was too heavy. But one day, they offered me a chance to make a short trailer. After editing it, their feedback was much better than my expectation. That thrilling moment, like ecstasy...it was my main driving force. I can't forget the moment.

Interviewee JL

As seen in the interview of EK in Chapter 2.4.2 (p.42), many interviewees also shared that they experienced high levels of self-satisfaction when they first saw the video they had edited was on air.

In addition to deriving a high level of self-satisfaction from experiencing the television production system as a member of the production team, it appears that ADs also derive enjoyment from their organisational status as a member of an influential broadcasting organisation, an achievement that they have long desired. Although ADs tend to become disillusioned when they first realise they do not have sufficient skills and knowledge to

immediately create an influential programme, having what is a socially respected career as a PD in a stable organisation allows them to be proud of themselves. The high level of self-satisfaction derived from the organisational status was also observed with a freelance AD, who was involved in an independent production team on a programme for a major terrestrial broadcaster.

Of course, the life was hard at that time, but it was great to make a trailer for the major documentary programme of [a terrestrial broadcaster]. I couldn't go home, but it was absolutely fine because I loved the work so much. The fact that I was working in the building of [a terrestrial broadcaster] itself was amazing.

Interviewee EH

Presumably, in the context of the studies of cultural work from the cultural studies tradition, such a situation in which an AD disregards the quality of his or her personal life due to the attractive image of being a media worker and the external recognition that this brings about would be identified as a typical case and believed to evidence the circumstances that force creative labourers to experience self-exploitation. However, considering the fact that the majority of interviewees had largely objective judgement about the poor working conditions of ADs, it seems hard to insist that they were merely seduced by the fantasy of the attractive image of creative labour. Rather, PDs shared that at the earlier career stage, deriving enjoyment from interesting work was more important than quality of life and they prioritised such. Even once the novelty of the production process had worn away, it appeared that PDs continued to value enjoyment in their work and derived this from other experiences, such as expression of their own creativity and the ability to communicate with audiences.

2) Enjoyment from the creative production process: later career stages

If ADs are merely following their seniors' orders and guidance, Main PDs are involved in the core creative production process as a key player with full responsibility for the production. After sufficient experience as a Main PD, the previously attractive characteristics of television work are no longer remarkable to PDs (such as the moment of airing, participating in shooting scenes, meeting celebrities, and so on). However, this does not mean that they no longer find enjoyment from their work. Rather, Main PDs begin to find a more mature level of enjoyment through their involvement in the creative production process as a primary creative professional. As discussed in sub-chapter 5.1, the majority of interviewees said that the most enjoyable moment of their work was receiving a good reaction and feedback from audiences. This showed one of the typical desires of cultural producers, namely achieving a high level of satisfaction when they are able to share their own creative ambitions with a larger audience group. This is also linked to the professional desires of PDs who wish to earn peer approval and to achieve a good reputation within the labour market.

For some PDs however, their desires for enjoyment are somewhat contradictory: the achievement of viewership ratings is extremely important and brings pleasure, but several interviewees also said that they experience more enjoyment when they are able to work without worrying about ratings or the economic success of the programme. For instance, many interviewees emphasised the idea that interesting and novel concepts for programmes could best be formulated when a PD intrinsically finds his or her own enjoyment during the production process.

Basically, PDs follow something enjoyable to them. I don't think James Cameron initially designed the concept of *Avatar* to make a fortune. Probably, the starting point of *Avatar* production would have been like... 'This should be interesting'. It is the basic mind-set of creative workers who make video content—we start to

think something new when it seems enjoyable to us.

Interviewee WL

In a similar vein, several interviewees said that they feel higher levels of enjoyment when they are freed from the pressures of the organisation or the market.

It is the best feeling when I make a programme or video content without payment, ironically. For example, if I help a charity organisation's promotion, I think I truly enjoy the process. It is actually a bit sad when my favourite project should be rewarded by money.

Interviewee OJ

However, as we shall see in the latter part of this sub-chapter, this does not mean that PDs do not care about their economic stability. Rather, such statements seem to be a reflection of their ideals as a creative self who desires to make whatever they wish without worrying about income. Although PDs understand the reality that they cannot achieve such an ideal level of creative autonomy, it nonetheless appears that they try their best to achieve personal enjoyment in the creative working process.

The majority of interviewees agreed that they still derived high levels of enjoyment from their work at the Main PD stage. Interviewee JP, SP, and WL similarly said that they would not change their career if the new occupation did not have any element of creative enjoyment, even if the remuneration was much higher than their current PD job. Many interviewees also emphasised that it is not possible to maintain the PD job if the PD does not find any enjoyment in their work.

If a PD continues his career, it should be safe to assume that the PD still enjoys something in their work. It could be enjoyment from the production process, or it could be enjoyment from the social status as a PD. Anyhow, for PDs who keep their career after being a Main PD, something in work may be very enjoyable to them. This job is hard to continue with the mindset of a mere salary man.

Interviewee SL

Since individual PDs find high levels of personal enjoyment from their work, this is inevitably linked to various conflicts with quality of life. As we shall see, however, the majority of interviewees tended to prioritise the importance of enjoyment from work over other values, including their personal wellbeing.

5.3.2. Quality of life and the enjoyment of work

As I discussed earlier in Chapter 2, while it has largely been believed that the expectation of financial rewards interrupts the intrinsic motivation of creative workers (Amabile, 1998), the importance of offering good baseline rewards (such as wages, benefits, working hours, holidays and so on) has also been emphasised to encourage higher levels of creativity (Pink, 2009, p. 172). Considering the nature of baseline rewards as outlined above, it is true that the PD job has several elements of 'bad work'. Indeed, according to the Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) standards of good-bad work, the heavy workloads and extended working hours of PD work accord with their model of bad work⁵³.

However, by only applying the standards of labour conditions to assess the labour process of

⁵³ In the Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) model of good-bad work, the following criteria are included in the bad work model: poor wages, working hours, and levels of safety; powerlessness; boredom; isolation; low self-esteem and shame; frustrated development; overwork; risk; low-quality products; and products that fail to contribute to the well-being of others (p. 39).

creative work, we could overlook the value of achieving enjoyment from work from the creative worker's point of view. This does not mean that economic stability is less important for creative workers; rather, this is an attempt to closely observe the creative workers' own perceptions of the value of creative work, which considers the possibility of having enjoyment from work alongside other value criteria. Based on this, the following sections will present the ambivalent attitudes of PDs in regard to the matters of quality of life and the importance of enjoyment from work.

Economic stability and enjoyment of work

Most interviewees admitted that the remuneration of the PD role is insufficient, particularly when considering the workloads and long working hours. Since most Main PDs of an entertainment show programme belong to a broadcasting organisation, their salary level is fixed by each company's payment policy. For instance, when it comes to the PDs at the three major terrestrial broadcasters, which are known to offer the highest level of payment amongst other television organisations, the average annual income for a PD who has worked more than 15 years is reported to be approximately 90 million KRW between 2013 and 2014 (Saramin, n.d.). Compared to other typical conglomerates that graduates with similar educational backgrounds to PD expectants wish to enter into, it seems that the level of annual income is not that dissimilar to 'non-creative' occupations in other fields. However, the majority of interviewees explained that the PD job offers somewhat different rewards through work.

It is true that PDs are not paid well if considering the working hours or the heavy workloads. Probably all broadcasters would go bankrupt if they set the level of payment according to working times (laugh). With the standard of working hours, we are surely paid less. But I think PDs continue this time consuming and challenging job because they find intrinsic enjoyment with the work. Such value

might not be able to be exactly converted into material value, but I feel I surely enjoy very unique benefits that other jobs do not offer.

Interviewee SL

However, although the majority of interviewees valued enjoyment from their work, their interest in financial rewards was also clearly observed throughout the interviews. In particular, with the subject of copyrights, interviewees clearly showed their ambivalent attitudes between financial rewards and personal enjoyment from work.

Traditionally in the Korean broadcasting industry, broadcasters have primarily owned the copyright of television programmes (such as selling, copying and republication rights). For television drama programme productions, although broadcasters have recently started to share the copyright with a few production companies, it is still perceived as very exceptional. When it comes to entertainment show programmes, broadcasters typically own the copyright of the programmes. In theory, the creative personnel of a programme, such as creative producers, writers, and presenters, have rights to receive proper royalties if the programme they have been involved is subject to be re-aired or published in another format. For instance, the copyright of the writers⁵⁴ of a television programme is guaranteed by the Korea TV & Radio Writers Association if they are a member of the association (Ryu, 2013). Therefore, if a programme is re-aired, or a book is published based on the programme, those writers who were involved in the original programme production receive a fixed rate of royalties.⁵⁵ However, PDs are not entitled to own the copyright of their programmes as a

⁵⁴ Most writers are freelance (rather than employed).

⁵⁵ If a programme is re-aired for the second time, the writers receive 25% of the payment for the original script, and upon the third re-airing, writers receive 12.5% of the payment. If the copy of the entire script is published, writers receive 3% of the selling price (Kim, 2007).

creative producer, as they are mostly employed by broadcasters. Even in the case of freelance PDs, it is very unlikely that they would receive copyright rewards, because a fixed policy that guarantees the copyright of freelance PD labour has not yet been legislated.

Since writers are the closest co-workers of a PD during the production process, it appeared that PDs sometimes feel a sense of unfairness when considering the copyright policy for writers. Many interviewees expressed a high level of dissatisfaction when they observed that PDs couldn't receive proper rewards for presenting their own creative ideas in the production process, unlike writers.

To be honest, when writers receive royalties for re-airing, I feel jealous. Not only copyrights, but if we receive a television programme award, we should give it to the organisation. It feels bad, actually. Every time I feel it, I think we PDs also need such an association for PDs' copyrights...but you know, without a broadcasting organisation, we cannot continue this work.

Interviewee JL

Why do PDs not have copyrights? That is my biggest gripe, honestly. We work together, and we generate ideas together. In many cases, the ideas that I thought up are a large part of an episode script. But we receive nothing. Probably organisations would think that we are not interested in such things. But we are.

Interviewee TM

As discussed earlier in sub-chapter 5.2, since stability of organisational status is crucial to maintaining the longevity of a PD career, it appeared that PDs were somewhat reluctant to assertively argue the legitimacy of copyright for PDs by organising an external association.

However, as seen in the above interviews, it seemed that PDs maintained a close interest in achieving adequate financial reward for their own creative ideas. Such desires were seemingly based on their identity as a creative self.

Following these discussions with interviewees, I raised a hypothetical question about copyright: Do you think something would change in your attitude during the production process if you received the copyright of the programme? Although the majority of respondents viewed this as an impossibility, it seemed that imagining such a scenario gave them pleasure. Above all, interviewees expressed satisfaction with the idea that they would be entitled to copyright because this is a distinctive right of 'real' creators. Among interviewees, however, two broadly different attitudes were observed in response to the question. On the one hand, a handful of interviewees said that they would willingly follow more trendy and fashionable programme concepts or audiences' needs to make their programme more economically successful.

I think the sense of responsibility will be increased very much if I receive copyright. Probably I will try to design a programme more perfectly...because I should aim for a goal. This does not mean that I'm currently making a programme irresponsibly—but I think I would probably have a higher sense of responsibility and would think more about the publicity of the programme.

Interviewee YP

It would be great. That means I could get some more money from work anyhow...if it happens, probably the competition between PDs will be intensified. For example, we would compete more harshly to pre-empt popular celebrities or writers for the success of the programme.

Interviewee EH

In this case, since the market success of a programme would be directly linked to financial reward, interviewees would willingly give up their own preferences to make the programme more popular. Although this was a hypothetical situation, such opinions are in line with the creativity theory literature, which argues that expected external rewards would decrease the level of creativity (Amabile, 1998)

On the other hand, several interviewees thought that copyright guarantee might not have a significant influence on their working attitude. It appeared that their opinions were largely based on a more realistic perception about the level of copyright rewards, rather than based on somewhat naïve or idealistic views as a creative self.

Well, I don't think any big changes would occur. I always do my best, even if I don't have the copyrights for now. Also, I don't think the copyright rewards for PDs would be large enough to bring any changes to my working life, if considering the current rates for writers.

Interviewee BM

I don't think anything would particularly change with copyright. Probably not a single PD would think their work is solely for their company, even though they do not receive any copyright. Also, if considering the case of writers, actually the amount of royalties is not great enough to cover living expenses. While we receive stable income as an employee, for writers, the copyright rewards are a matter of making a living.

Interviewee JL

Indeed, with the above question, many interviewees naturally considered whether or not the financial reward from copyright would be enough to make a living. Interviewee EH said that he would happily receive the copyright royalty of a programme if the copyright royalty would be offered as an additional income (even though it could have an effect on the level of their creativity). But if he needs to exchange his stable organisational status with copyright entitlement, he said that he would meticulously compare his current salary and the expected income from copyright.

While copyright was perceived as a kind of intrinsic reward rather than an income source for those PDs who work in a stable organisational environment, for freelance PDs, who are not protected by organisational boundaries, the matter of copyright was recognised as an extrinsic reward that is a crucial means of living. Indeed, KIPDA (Korean Independent Producers & Directors' Association) has assertively argued the need for copyright to be granted to freelance PDs. Interviewee OJ, the secretary general of the association, explained that KIPDA is an interest group for freelance PDs who do not have any organisational protection. For them, revision of the copyright law for freelance PDs is perceived as a fight for living, to find an alternative solution to having a stable income. Interestingly, however, two freelance PDs also found high levels of enjoyment from their work, although their income level was relatively unstable. Interviewee OJ, who also has his own family, expressed his inner conflict as both a creative self and a breadwinner.

I certainly want to keep this job. That's why I'm trying to do as many side projects—such as promotion videos—as possible. If I only do television programmes based on my own tastes, I would not be able to secure a living for my family. But if I spend some time undertaking work that I do not want to do, I can support my family sufficiently. So my ultimate aim is to maintain both my current PD job and a good quality of life for my family, especially for my daughter's education. If I should have a second job to pursue the aim, I would

definitely do that.

Interviewee OJ

That is the problem. I can't leave this field because the work is so enjoyable. So I'm helping other programme productions as a member of the editing staff to make additional income. Of course, sometimes I wonder why I'm doing this and doing other projects to keep my living. But so far, I don't want to give up.

Interviewee YJ

To maintain an enjoyable career for a long time, freelance PDs were fighting to maintain a proper quality of life by engaging in a second job or additional projects. Such behaviour in which workers find a second job to maintain their living is another well-known characteristic of subordinated creative labour within the media industry (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010). However, the aim here is to pay more attention to the tendency among PDs to highly value the possibility of achieving enjoyment from their work in addition to other values, such as quality of life. It could be said that the recent assertions of freelance PDs in regard to their right to copyright royalties shows their will to maintain two desires: both the PD career and a good quality of life.

Likewise, although PDs highly value the enjoyment from work and their specific working process as a creative labourer, their perceptions about adequate levels of income were seemingly based on a very realistic viewpoint. Although the average wage for a PD job does not reflect the long working hours and heavy workloads, the majority of interviewees were not hugely dissatisfied with the current level of financial reward because they believed they were receiving different kinds of rewards from work—namely, finding and following enjoyment in their work. In the case of freelance PDs, although the income levels and the

stability of the job were far less than that of employed PDs, freelance PDs also highly valued the reward of enjoyment from their work. Due to this, they sometimes willingly took a second job or additional project to continue their PD career by maintaining a living.

With the subject of copyright, more ambivalent attitudes were observed. It was true that most interviewees first considered the potential financial reward of copyrights, but at the same time, PDs valued the idea of being granted copyright because it would officially demonstrate their creative capacity in the television industry. Of course, for freelance PDs, copyright entitlement was perceived as a stable income source, which would enable them to continue their career without organisational protection (in the same way as writers do). However, it was also clear that both full-time employed and freelance PDs recognised copyright as an indicator of their level of creative and professional capacity, which could be in turn linked to their status in the labour market. In this sense, PDs seek both external and internal rewards from copyrights.

Leisure time and enjoyment of work

Due to the extended working hours and flexible production schedule, PDs tend to have difficulty finding time for themselves or family. For instance, it is typical that PDs should go to the office during weekends or national holidays if their programme production is ongoing. Interestingly however, the majority of interviewees said that they still do not particularly find difficulty with the lack of leisure time. Several interviewees said that the PD job does not require personal hobbies because the working process itself is largely enjoyable.

Probably I would find another interesting hobby if I were not a PD. But this job does not require any additional hobbies—because the work itself is enjoyable enough.

Interviewee TM

The PD job is so attractive, and this allows us to ignore other parts of our personal life. While a typical company employee tends to wait for the hour at which the office closes, we don't. If someone does, he or she may not be able to maintain the PD job for a long time, because it means that the PD does not gain enough pleasure from work. Ironically, we PDs tend not to have personal hobbies. Because the working process itself is enjoyable like hobbies. When it comes to mundane office work, such employees would want to refresh their boring life through interesting activities after work. But we PDs could be refreshed through work, because we thoroughly enjoy this work.

Interviewee HS

Likewise, since the boundary between work and life is largely blurred, it appeared that many interviewees identified themselves with the PD occupation.

Last year, I wondered what would remain in my life if I removed everything related to my job. Nevertheless, I'm still finding the greatest enjoyment in my life from work. Sometimes I'd like to separate my life from work, but I know I would not be able to do so. I spent most of time in my 20s and 30s with work, and now most of my friends are also working in this field. It is just so natural for now.

Interviewee JL

Since the specificity of the PD role requires these workers to extensively blend their personal life with their work, it appeared that the majority of interviewees recognised that it was inevitable that their personal life would be different to that of others if they wished to continue their career.

However, the conflict between the lack of leisure time and the desire to have enjoyment from work comes to the fore in PDs' personal relationships, such as with family or friends. Throughout interviews, many respondents shared that they began to have more conflicts with their family after getting married. One of the interviewees even used the expression, 'limitation,' to describe his family.

I think the biggest limitation to continue my PD career is family issues. It has already been 14 years, but my family still expresses dissatisfaction with my inability to be involved in family events. I have been characterised as a person who does not have time. Sometimes it is really stressful to receive such complaints.

Interviewee YP

Interestingly, the majority of interviewees did not show any significant personal dissatisfaction with the fact that they had little personal time to spend with their family members. Rather, interviewees tended to try to explain their unique working circumstances to the people around them and to ask them to understand their inability to participate in any events or gatherings. Interviewee JP used the expression, 'selfish,' when describing his desire to continue as a PD and to maintain his enjoyment in work.

To be honest, this job is entirely for me. I know I'm a bit selfish—actually my wife hates this job because I don't have much time to spend with my daughters. But there is little opportunity to make a living by doing something enjoyable. I do not find any enjoyment from business or sales. There is not much to do for me.

Interviewee JP

In particular, several interviewees who had their own children said that they deliberately tried to spend some more time with their family, especially for their children's education and wellbeing. Although they said that they found some personal enjoyment from their time with family, at the same time, it appeared that the interviewees tended to perceive their duty as a father, mother, or a spouse, as another subject for negotiation to enable them to continue their careers in the long-term.

5.3.3. Concluding remarks:

PDs' perspectives on the images of exploited creative labour

Following the above discussions about the importance of enjoyment of work with interviewees, I then introduced some of the academic views about the exploited nature of creative labour. To explain these theoretical approaches, I carefully chose everyday expressions, instead of using abstract theoretical terms:

Question

Since many PDs personally enjoy their work very much, there are some views that the broadcasting organisations or the industry exploit a PD's naïve mindset to encourage PDs to work more without proper reward. How would you react if someone judged your working life in that manner?

With this question, the majority of interviewees first admitted that someone could surely view their working attitude in such a manner. Interestingly, however, most of them then expressed dissatisfaction with such an external perception about their working process and pointed out that such critics do not care much about the actual thoughts of creative labour.

Of course, people who cannot understand the particular enjoyment of this work could think in that way. For example, let's say there is a cup of water. We all think the water exists for us to drink. But actually we never know how the water thinks itself about the status. The viewpoints from inside and outside will surely be different. Probably ordinary people who do not know anything about this job would think being a PD is just an attractive job, and some people who make a good fortune in other occupational fields could think, 'Why do they do such a tiresome job?' But I do not judge myself or my job in such a way. It has been more than 10 years now since I started my life as a PD, and I think my choice was right for me. What I care about is how I can continue this job more happily.

Interviewee JL

Interviewee TM even said that he does not care if his feeling of enjoyment is a kind of fantasy:

Is it wrong to follow the job that satisfies me? I don't see anything wrong with an attitude in life that searches for what we truly want. I think this is totally subjective and unique to an individual. No one forces me to take this job, and I could leave any time if I didn't want to continue. I chose this job entirely based on my own will and have continued as I wanted to. It doesn't matter even if someone judges my view as just self-satisfaction or self-fantasy. At least, I'm happy with this job for now, and I also sufficiently support my family.

Interviewee TM

In a more provocative manner, Interviewee JP strongly argued that the possibility of being exploited is not necessarily a bad thing for PDs who enjoy their work.

I think we all do this work because we like to do this. If one feels that the organisation or the industry exploits them, and if they are frustrated with such

problems, they are just free to go. If it is really hard to accept the working environment, they do not need to continue in the job.

Interviewee JP

Many previous studies on cultural work assumed that creative labourers tend to be indirectly forced to give up their personal life, as they are somewhat seduced by the attractive images of media work. However, throughout my interviews, many agreed that the maintenance of the PD occupation is not possible if the worker does not find his or her own enjoyment from the work. Indeed, it appeared that PDs have a very strong will to maintain a good level of enjoyment from their work, even if it sometimes requires them to take additional work to support the quality of their life.

At the same time, however, interviewees acknowledged that their particular attitudes in which they highly value being able to derive enjoyment from work could be easily exploited by organisations and the industry. Many interviewees said that it is a somewhat inevitable consequence because they themselves value the quality of output and voluntarily give of themselves to achieve this.

Surely, there are many possibilities for exploitation in the PD work. I don't deny it. But I think PDs themselves want the work very much. To keep our career in this field, we tend to accept some unfair aspects of this industry, because...the working process is so meaningful and enjoyable. We can change people's thoughts through our programme...such a thing would not be easily achieved in other occupational fields.

Interviewee HS

This leads us to think about the particular value judgement criteria that PDs have in their labour process. Throughout interviews, I observed that most interviewees tended to have a somewhat distinctive attitude when they considered what kind of values they would follow throughout their career. Even though they were all well aware of the importance of economic stability as an employed labourer, their foremost concern was the possibility of deriving enjoyment from their work, which was only possible through the creative production process. While interviewees expressed very realistic views about their working status and conditions, it appeared that they would not dismiss the specific intrinsic reward from work; that is, enjoyment. Indeed, for PDs, it seemed that the enjoyment of work was an indispensable condition to continue their life as a PD.

To sum up, it seems that PDs tend to find a high level of satisfaction with the specific characteristics of PD work. At the earlier career stage, experiencing particular aspects of media work appears to be very attractive and enjoyable for junior PDs. As their career develops, PDs begin to find a sense of enjoyment from the creative production process itself by presenting and sharing their own creative ambitions. Since most interviewees highly valued such intrinsic rewards, they tended to assertively negotiate factors related to their quality of life, such as the level of financial reward, leisure time, and personal relationships with family and friends. In particular, with the issues of family matters, many interviewees experienced the additional need to negotiate between different identities: as a creative self and a family member (mostly as a breadwinner or a parent). Through such a balancing act, it appeared that interviewees endeavoured to maintain and continue their PD career. Such attitudes of interviewees towards the matter of quality of life partly suggested that, for PDs, the personal enjoyment from work has a similar level of value to that of external rewards, such as wages or benefits. The contradictory relationships between these two different desires of an individual creative worker could be illustrated as in Figure 5.3.

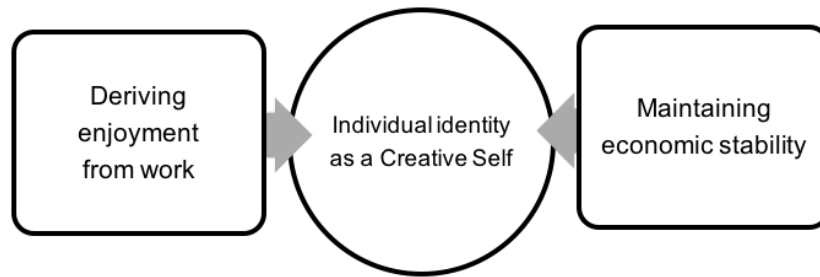


Figure 5.3

The two conflicting desires of an individual creative labourer as a creative self

This leads us to rethink the way in which the labour process should be assessed from the creative workers' point of view. The sense of enjoyment that experienced PDs find in their work was somewhat different from a mere fantasy or seduction. The majority of interviewees highly valued the possibility of having enjoyment in their work through involvement in the creative production process. Such tendencies to find personal enjoyment from work were not based on unrealistic or romantic ideals. Rather, while PDs tried not to abandon the pleasure they derived from work as a creative self, they simultaneously desired to have more stable income as an employed labourer and a family member. In this sense, creating a working environment that allows creative labourers to sufficiently achieve such intrinsic rewards from work may be another key factor in the creative management of media labourers.

5.4. Discussion

In the previous three sub-chapters, I have observed how the three multiple identities of PDs (creative self, employed creative labourer, and creative professional) are intertwined during the programme production process. It is also evident that these multiple identities were formulated due to the paradoxical (and sometimes conflictual) relationships experienced with the organisation, audience, peer professional network, and so on, during the career

development process. Based on such multiple identities, it appeared that PDs desired different things at the same time. To observe how these desires were balanced and negotiated within the circumstances particular to PDs, I selected three distinct dimensions: viewership ratings (5.1), the process of professionalisation (5.2), and the importance of deriving enjoyment from work (5.3). The first sub-chapter dealt with the relationship between the commercial value of television programmes and the multiple desires of PDs, including the wish to secure a positive audience reaction and frustration with organisational directives. This was followed by consideration of the paradoxical relationship between the organisational environment and the career development process of creative individuals, which involves conflict between the organisational and professional identities of creative workers. The last sub-chapter then investigated the degree to which it is important for creative workers to actualise their own creative ambitions and the way in which this is balanced with their desire for economic stability.

Upon this foundation, I will now discuss the ways in which the creative autonomy of an entertainment show programme PD is always subject to negotiation due to both the paradoxical relationships and the complex environmental and subjective factors found in the programme production process. I first review and highlight the distinctive characteristics of such negotiation in the context of the PD career and the theme of each sub-chapter. I then continue the discussion by asserting the ways in which the distinctive characteristics of PDs as creative workers bring value to the television industry and are fundamental to the industry's creative development. This discussion is followed in the next chapter by discussion of suggested management strategies to enhance the relationship between professionalised PDs and broadcasting organisations.

5.4.1. Creative autonomy is always negotiated

1) The commercial value of television programmes and the level of creative autonomy

In Chapter 5.1, I observed how PDs reacted to organisational and industrial demands to achieve higher viewership ratings during the programme production process. It was also evident that PDs actualised their own desires through the commercial value of a television programme (that is, the ratings figures). As seen in Figure 5.1 (p. 138), interviewees themselves thirsted to attain higher viewership ratings as a *creative self*, as they intrinsically wished to share their programme (or creative product) with a wide audience. In the process, it seemed that PDs sometimes struggled to balance two different aims: 1) creating a popular programme by following market trends, and 2) actualising their own creative ambitions through the programme irrespective of market success. On the one hand, PDs to some extent compromised themselves (both willingly and unwillingly) by following the demands of an organisation (for example, by producing a programme based on a previously successful formula or popular keywords), but on the other hand, many interviewees described situations in which they did their best to maintain their own creative ambitions within the given circumstances (for instance, by taking a firm stand against organisational demands or by assertively persuading their seniors and management department). Consequently, PDs naturally blended currently fashionable concepts with their own tastes and preferences during the programme production process, and as a result, it appeared that the potential for introducing new creative aspects to a commercial entertainment programme was conjointly increased.

These findings are in accordance with recent observations of cultural/creative work, which have noted the complex relationships surrounding cultural/creative workers in a typical workplace (Banks, 2010; Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010; Oakley, 2009; Wei, 2012). Although

the market circumstances of the entertainment television industry are undoubtedly efficiency-led, interviews revealed that creative workers were continually seeking to broaden the scope in which they were able to express their own creative ambitions through their programmes. Rather than being 'tendentially eliminated' over time (Adorno, 1991, p. 99), the form of creative autonomy held by individual creative workers has come to have a more complex and multi-layered structure within the commercialised cultural/creative industries.

As an *employed creative labourer*, PDs needed to follow the organisational aim for a television programme; that is, an organisation aims to achieve commercial success from programme production. Since it is vital to have a well-systemised process when creating a television programme, it was important to a PD's creative career to maintain a good relationship with their employer (the broadcasting organisation), as the organisational broadcasting system enabled them to produce a television programme within a stable environment. In addition, by achieving higher viewership ratings, PDs were also able to enjoy a good level of creative autonomy within the organisation. As observed earlier, it appeared that a prior history of attaining good ratings guaranteed substantial creative and organisational autonomy to PDs. In such a situation, organisational interventions in the programme production process were minimised, and the organisation even allowed the PD flexibility in their working hours (see BM's interview in sub-chapter 5.1.5, pp.132-133). Thus, to gain a desirable level of autonomy within their organisation, PDs also wished to achieve higher ratings. To gain trust from a broadcaster, PDs would sometimes voluntarily postpone their own preferences and creative ambitions to follow a given formula known to bring about good ratings figures (for example, using particular editing techniques or casting celebrities). Such conformity could be interpreted as a characteristic of vulnerable subordinated individual creative workers in this commercialised era; throughout my interviews however, it was clear that PDs continuously and proactively sought opportunity to imbue programmes

with their own creative ambitions by balancing organisational demands with the degree of creative freedom afforded to them.

Lastly, as a *creative professional*, attaining higher viewership ratings was also very important in maintaining the PD career over the long term. As the Korean PD labour market has become increasingly individualised, it has likewise become more crucial for a PD to manage their career history and their reputation in the professional field. Once established as a professionalised Main PD, a PD's performance is assessed by the results of a programme production (that is, the ratings figures). Thus, to successfully shape his or her professional career path, a PD needs to continually demonstrate their professional and creative capacity to lead from the front with popular creative products. Merely following and imitating previously successful concepts and currently fashionable items is not enough: to be recognised as a sufficiently professionalised PD, it is important for a PD to demonstrate their creative capacity to construct the next market trend by bringing something new. In other words, the required level of creativity is increasing as PDs become more professionalised. To bring innovation into a commercial entertainment television programme, professionalised Main PDs constantly negotiate their level of creative autonomy by counterbalancing market needs with their own creative ambitions. As shall be discussed later, such assertiveness to maintain a good level of creative autonomy was based on the strong intrinsic motivations of PDs who desire to continue their creative career within the industry.

Such findings are once again incongruent with pessimistic presumptions that commercialisation of cultural/creative industries brings about a 'decline in creativity' (McRobbie, 2002, p. 524) and individual creative labourers become de-autonomised within highly commercialised environments. In contrast, it was observed throughout interviews that individual PDs tended to become an irreplaceable asset in the industry by attaining and

developing specialised knowledge, skills, networks and experiences. These features are distinctive to professionalised PDs and act as the foundation upon which to grant a good level of creative autonomy that satisfies both the commercial aims of broadcasting companies and the professional desires of PDs.

By observing the complex wishes of PDs and their relationship to ratings figures, it has therefore been possible to understand why the level of creative autonomy during the production process is inevitably subject to negotiation in the entertainment television industry. Notably, it seems that creative labourers themselves have composite desires: my interviewees demonstrated that contemporary creative workers seek to fulfil multiple needs, many of which have paradoxical relationships to one another. Crucially, thanks to the constant negotiation process of the diverse wishes of individual creative labourers, the level of creativity in the commercial cultural/creative industries is not unconditionally eliminated. Rather, it seems that the level of creativity that is preserved continually opens up the possibility that innovation is brought into the efficiency-led market environment. This is primarily achieved through the determination of individual creative workers to maintain their creative ambitions within the given situation. Interestingly however, individual PDs are able to maintain such a strength of will throughout their career development process because the organisation-based working environment has offered them the opportunity to become sufficiently professionalised in the field.

2) Organisation-based professional PDs and the level of creative autonomy

Not only does the commercial value of television programmes affect PDs, but also environmental factors in their workplaces. As seen in sub-chapter 5.2, broadcasting organisations and professionalised PDs both have a vested interest in maintaining a good

relationship with one another. On the one hand, PDs need a stable working environment that both provides the training needed to become professionalised (through the accumulation of specialised knowledge, skills, peer networks and experience) and that allows them to continue their career over the long term through the provision of stability in creative work. On the other hand, broadcasting companies need a sufficiently professionalised PD labour force to maintain the ongoing creative development of programme productions, which is key to the organisation's success.

As a creative professional, a PD dreams of a situation in which he or she is granted full creative autonomy to produce a programme in a stable organisational working environment. However, broadcasting organisations prioritise the commercial success of a television programme and desire that such success is brought about in the most efficient way possible for profits to be maximised. Both my own interviews and the observation of broadcasting schedules revealed that most broadcasting organisations were reluctant to invest in new prototype programme productions and tended to encourage PDs to create a programme based on previously profitable concepts or programme production formulas because these were believed to be more efficient. This tendency inevitably resulted in PDs being granted less creative autonomy as they were required to follow given market rules and trends. Interestingly however, the formula for success is not always clear and broadcasting organisations also recognise the important role that individual PDs play in actualising a programme by combining their creative ambitions, professionalism, and the commercial aims of the organisation, and that such creative development is a key factor in determining the overall performance of the broadcaster. Due to the conflict between creativity and efficiency in the relationship between PDs and broadcasting organisations, the level of creative autonomy granted to professionalised PDs is again always subject to negotiation.

As the career of a PD develops, it appears that maintaining a stable organisational status becomes more crucial. Indeed, the majority of interviewees admitted that entertainment PDs should belong to an established organisation if they wish to build a good reputation over the longer term. Due to the fact that the production process of most weekly entertainment show programmes is still led by established network broadcasters (rather than independent production companies or freelance PDs), to grasp the opportunity to be the Main PD for a programme production, PDs must necessarily belong to a stable broadcaster. Even if a programme is outsourced to an external independent production company, one or more full-time PDs from the commissioning company tend to take authority over the production process, particularly in the entertainment genre (see Chapter 3). Those interviewees who had begun their career being freelance longed to become a full-time employee in a stable broadcaster, and many of them are now working as such (see Table 4.1). It further appeared that PDs were somewhat reluctant to challenge the relationship with their organisation by building up an external professional association and asserting the legitimacy of copyright for professionalised PDs. Overall, professionalised Main PDs take a very pragmatic approach to attaining a good level of creative autonomy through their relationship with a broadcaster; typically, they first seek to win trust in the organisation (for example, as seen in the interview with SL, PDs may need to demonstrate their ability to efficiently bring about commercial success by first following organisational demands and popular trends; see sub-chapter 2.4.3, p.47), after which they are then able to attain a good level of creative autonomy in the organisation.

From this perspective, PDs inevitably come to compromise at least some of their creative vision and ambition. However, once a PD has built trust (by achieving good ratings figures), the power they have to negotiate within the organisation increases, and thus so does the level of creative autonomy (and organisational autonomy) available to them. Although such a

heightened level of creative autonomy is a somewhat temporary agreement (because a programme that is currently popular 'may fail tomorrow', see sub-chapter 5.2), it seemed that PDs continually sought opportunity to exert their creative and professional capacity independent of organisational interventions. Paradoxically, to ensure that external interventions remain minimal, it is necessary for PDs to continually secure commercial success with their programmes, which can again limit the professional and creative capacity of PDs, at least to an extent, as commercial success is determined by audience reactions and the market performances of a programme. In this sense, creative autonomy is continually negotiated.

3) Deriving enjoyment from creative work and the level of creative autonomy

Throughout sub-chapter 5.3, I concentrated on the subjective aspects that affected the level of creative autonomy available to PDs, and this was closely linked to the level of personal satisfaction they derived from their work. As discussed earlier in Chapter 2, many studies of creativity and innovation have noted the important role that provision of a working environment in which creative workers are able to achieve sufficient internal reward from their work has to play in enhancing creativity and innovation (Amabile, 1996, 1998; Bilton & Cummings, 2010; Pink, 2009). However, as seen in sub-chapter 5.3, it appears that broadcasting organisations are not particularly interested in creating a working environment that encourages PDs to uphold sufficient levels of internal satisfaction in their work. Nevertheless, throughout their careers, the majority of my interviewees seemed to have derived very high levels of personal enjoyment from their work primarily due to their own personal characteristics and desire to seek enjoyment through creative work.

Interviews revealed that PDs tended to gain a high level of enjoyment from two aspects of

the PD role: 1) the attractiveness of a media job, and 2) the ability to embed their personal creative ambitions in the programme production process. The first of these was experienced primarily during earlier career stages when interviewees were not yet sufficiently professionalised to produce a programme on their own. At this stage, the majority of interviewees admitted that they were somewhat addicted to the attractiveness of the job, as this was the fulfilment of a long-term ambition imagined for many years before entering into the labour market. Such enjoyment was typically associated with various 'firsts' (such as meeting celebrities, participating in a real television production team, and editing a very short video clip for broadcast). Although the potential to enjoy such experiences only lasted for a short while (that is, only as long as activities were experienced as new and refreshing), it appeared that the majority of interviewees vividly remembered such moments and these were precious memories about their career. Moreover, when interviewees looked back at their days as a junior PD, this seemed to reaffirm and strengthen their motivation for their current work.

This first facet of enjoyment did not directly increase nor decrease the level of creative autonomy, but it did affect the level of practical autonomy available to PDs in their work. Interviewees admitted that due to the pleasure they derived from the PD role they tended to ignore the heavy workloads and extended working hours that are particularly prevalent during the early stages of a PD career. As many cultural work critics have pointed out, this situation could be interpreted as one that forces creative workers to exploit themselves (Banks, 2007b; Ross, 2003; Stahl, 2005, 2009). However, the typical working circumstance of PDs in the present research was substantially different to the cases of below-the-line creative personnel that have been frequently dealt with by previous cultural work studies (for instance, storyboard artists working without copyright in the US animation industry in Stahl, 2005, 2009). Although in their early career (that is, as an AD), PDs cannot instantly act as a

primary creative work force, this is mainly because of their lack of specialised knowledge, skills, and experience, all of which will improve as soon as they become properly professionalised. Indeed, many interviewees identified the primary factor that led to disappointment during the early career stage as being the lack of opportunity to do 'something real' as an established creative producer—a factor that seemed to be resolved as they gradually became professionalised.

Meanwhile, the second type of enjoyment (the ability to embed their personal creative ambitions in the programme production process and to thereby share their creativity with others) seemed to directly affect the level of creative autonomy of a PD. Having become involved in the creative production process as primary creative personnel, interviewees began to experience the joy of receiving feedback about their creative product from others, (including audiences and the market) and shaping a good reputation in the field. As cultural producers who naturally desired to share their own distinctive creative ambitions with as wide an audience as possible, PDs seemed very sensitive to the responses of audiences and the market. Inevitably, PDs therefore developed contradictory desires: on the one hand, they wished to achieve good ratings figures (which not only enabled greater career success but also brought personal pleasure) but on the other hand, they also wanted to actualise their own creative ambitions. As creative professionals, PDs felt that maintaining a good reputation by achieving commercial success with their programmes was very important, and it seemed that they believed a good reputation would eventually raise the level of creative autonomy available to them in the future. As a result, again, the level of creative autonomy available to professionalised Main PDs was constantly negotiated.

Dissimilarly to many pessimistic observations about cultural work however (observations that deny the possibility that creative autonomy can be attained in the largely commercialised

cultural/creative industries), my interviewees shared that they still derive a high level of satisfaction from PD work through the actualisation of their personal creative ambitions (at least to a certain degree). Crucially, the majority of interviewees prioritised the value of deriving personal enjoyment (that is, internal reward) over other external rewards. The subject of copyright offered particularly interesting insights regarding the subjective satisfaction derived from creative work. Typically, the matter of copyright has been considered in reference to the economic impact of intellectual property: when it comes to creative labour, copyright has tended to be viewed as a source of income that has the potential to maintain a good level of economic stability in an increasingly individualised and fragmented creative labour market. Interestingly however, the majority of interviewees saw copyright as an opportunity to become officially recognised as a creative producer by colleagues, audiences and the market, rather than as another income source. Considering the fact that this viewpoint was not only observed in full-time employed PDs but also in freelance and part-time workers, it could be said that individuals highly valued the ability to actualise their personal creative ambitions through their work.

This did not mean however that PDs tended to minimise the importance of maintaining a good level of economic stability from their work. As seen in the interviews with OJ and YJ (both of whom were freelance PDs, pp.185-186), to continue their PD work, interviewees would, if necessary, engage in a second job or an additional project to ensure that an economically viable quality of life was maintained for both themselves and their families. For PDs, the possibility to realise their own creative ambitions and to share these with others was equally as important as receiving a stable income. Put differently, deriving enjoyment from work was an indispensable working condition for PDs.

In the same vein, it appeared that interviewees tended to perceive the lack of private leisure

time brought about by unfixed working schedules and extended hours as a factor that primarily annoyed their family members, rather than themselves. Interviewee JP even described himself 'selfish' because he strongly desired to maintain his PD career even though this inevitably threatened a healthy family life (because he was unable to spend as much time with his children as other ordinary office workers). For PDs, such conflicts with family members were another form of negotiation in which they sought to continue the work that provides them with a high level of enjoyment that they do not experience elsewhere. In other words, PDs appeared to do their best to minimise any disruptive factors that had the potential to decrease their ability to derive enjoyment from work.

4) The negotiated nature of creative autonomy

Thus it is clear that for all dimensions observed in my empirical research, the level of creative autonomy is always subject to negotiation, and the nature of this negotiation is influenced by a variety of environmental and subjective elements. Importantly, many of the factors that limit the level of creative autonomy available to a PD at a given time are also crucial to the maintenance and development of a long-term PD career. PDs cannot become professionalised without an organisational environment, and building a good reputation as a creative professional is not possible without achieving commercial success for a broadcaster. Paradoxically, to both acquire creative autonomy and attain high levels of internal reward from creative work, PDs inevitably need to compromise their creative vision and ambition to satisfactorily communicate with audiences and the market.

These contradictory desires were deeply rooted in the three different identities of PDs (creative self, employed creative laborer, and creative professional). In particular, it seemed that an individual's identity as a creative self had a crucial role in maintaining and expanding

the level of creative autonomy available to a PD. During any negotiation process about the level of creative autonomy, it was a PD's principal desire to produce something creative that reflected their own creative ambition that drove the outcome the PD sought (see Figure 5.4).

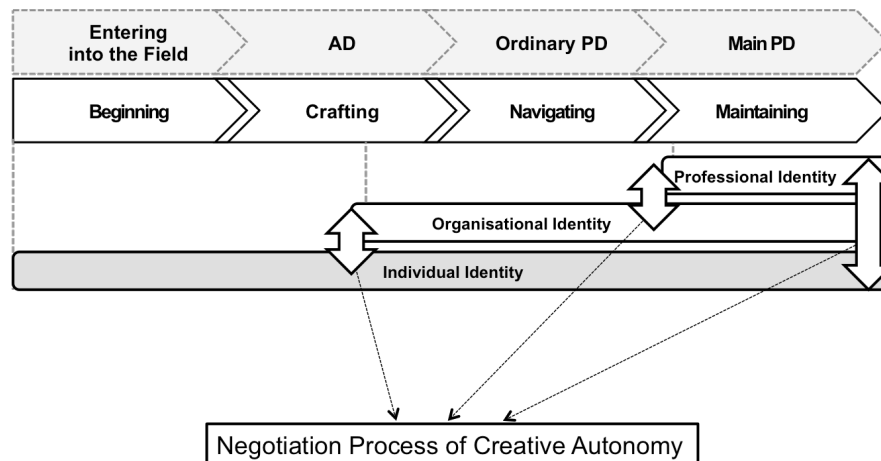


Figure 5.4

The foundational role of individual identity in the negotiation of creative autonomy

Indeed, the assertive negotiation of the level of creative autonomy becomes possible because of a PD's firm will to actualise their own creative ambitions. Such a trait is fundamental to the creative development of the television industry, which elucidates the value of individual creative workers and the important role they play.

As seen through interviewees' reactions to my question about the view espoused in previous literature of creative workers as exploited (see concluding remarks in sub-chapter 5.3), we may now need a new framework with which to understand the distinctive attitudes of creative workers, who it seems have particular value judgements about creative work. Based on this, I will now explore the distinctive value of individual creative workers (who cannot easily be replaced by other players in the field) in the television industry.

5.4.2. Understanding the distinctive value of individual creative workers

1) Creative workers as ordinary labourers with creative ambition

Earlier, I observed that within mainstream studies of cultural work, there is an ongoing mythology of creative genius, which tends to interpret creative workers as people who seek 'pure' creativity with aesthetic or artistic autonomy. Due to the tendency to think about creative workers as people who seek 'art for art's sake', and as a group who primarily pursue internal rewards from creative work, it is believed that such desires cannot be actualised within a highly commercialised market environment. Therefore the possibility that such workers could play an active role in which they maintain a good level of creative autonomy is largely denied.

Such views on contemporary cultural work have naturally come to conclude that the level of 'true' creativity in the industry has, and will, radically decline due to the lack of the 'pure' creative autonomy of creative workers (for example, McRobbie, 2002). In a similar vein, because such studies divide the cultural and commercial value of art, it has also been frequently contended that the cultural value of products within the industry is in crisis (Adorno, 1991; McRobbie, 2002). In such discussions, cultural value has often been interpreted according to a range of characteristics (such as aesthetic, spiritual, social, historical, symbolic, and authenticity) that are defined by the given context (Throsby, 2001, pp. 28-29), and those various concepts of cultural value were clearly separated from the market value of cultural products. If following such approaches, since the possibility of having a proper level of creative autonomy is fundamentally denied, current creative producers are very unlikely to actualise their creative ambition because they are forced to focus on the creation of commercial value.

My current research is based on the perception that the commercial value of a creative product is vital when it comes to the definition of creativity. I defined the word creativity for this study by pointing out two criteria: novel and valuable. And I clearly emphasised that value in this context is something valuable within the industry, which would primarily be interpreted as commercial value. Some may argue that my prioritisation of the definition, 'value', supports the priority of commercial value in the cultural/creative industries, which could decrease the level of creativity within the market; however, in the cultural/creative industries, commercial value and cultural/creative value cannot be clearly divided with such a dichotomous approach, and creative workers naturally co-consider the commercial and cultural value of their products during the production process (Oakley, 2009). Based on my own conceptual framework of creative autonomy, such a cooperative and blended approach becomes possible through the negotiation between the multiple identities of creative workers.

Indeed, my interviews have revealed that creative workers do not exclusively pursue their own creative ambitions; in fact, the PDs I interviewed were not dramatically different from the ordinary workers of any occupational field who wish to make a living from their work. Alongside their creative ambitions as a creative self, interviewees presented a high level of interest in maintaining a good level of economic stability by attaining a stable organisational status. They not only looked for a high level of enjoyment from their creative work (that is, internal reward), but also wished to receive good standards of external rewards (such as reputation, money, and negotiating power). When considering the long-term, PDs also desired to shape a more positive professional career path by managing their reputation and networks. Overall, the most distinctive characteristic of PDs as creative labourers was the persistence with which they sought individual satisfaction from the creative production process throughout their career trajectories based on their individual identity as a creative

self. And I believe this becomes the core foundation for explaining why we need to consider the importance of providing a good level of creative autonomy to creative labourers for the sustainable development of organisations and the industry as a whole.

2) The key role of the individual PD in the television industry

As a PD's career develops, their own standards of creativity change and develop as these standards shift to reflect various organisational and industrial criteria and norms. However, interviewees nonetheless clearly articulated how their individual desire as a creative self played a key role during the negotiation process of creative autonomy (see Figure 5.4).

Of course, the process of negotiation and its results varied according to each interviewee's personality and their situation. While some PDs took a firm stand against organisational interventions and demands to protect their own criteria about the creative value of television programmes, several other interviewees admitted that they sometimes 'gave up' their preferences to not only attain a higher level of market value (viewership), but also to maintain their stable organisational status and to ensure their long-term career as a professional. Even in the case of those PDs who temporarily renounced their creative ambition however, it was clearly observed that PDs tried their best to protect the core creative value of the programme based on their own individual standards (for instance, the case of BM and HJ in sub-chapter 5.1.3, pp. 125-127). It could therefore be said that the assertive negotiation of the level of creative autonomy becomes possible because of a PD's firm will to actualise their own creative ambitions. Interviews also revealed that it is this distinctive tendency among PDs that is the core creative driver in highly commercialised entertainment television production.

As indicated above, broadcasting organisations want to ensure the commercial success of a television programme in the most efficient way possible. The tendency to produce similar programme concepts (for instance, the domination of food and cooking shows in July 2015) has perhaps forced PDs to have lower levels of creative autonomy and to follow given market rules and trends for the promise of a more stable career future, which may well be in line with the possibility of standardisation of cultural products under commercialisation, as contended by Adorno and Horkheimer in the early 1940s.

However, the formula for success is not always clear and the role of the individual identity of creative labourers in the creative development of the industry is still vital. As Bilton and Cummings (2010) observed in the case of movie sequels, the mere application of previously successful formulas or franchise titles without the addition of new value is very unlikely to garner the required levels of consumer attention and market revenue. My own empirical research similarly revealed that it was not possible to attain long-term value from a television programme by only following standard ratings tactics. As seen in sub-chapter 5.2 (with the case that three major terrestrial broadcasters failed to lead the popularity of food and cooking shows against cable television companies), audiences do not simply respond to a programme because it is aired by major terrestrial broadcasters or because it reflects previously successful concepts. When PDs were required to produce a programme by following market trends, they were only able to achieve sufficient levels of audience attention when they were able to give new life to banal stories or stereotyped items by injecting a unique sense of creativity, and this was actualised through their skill as a professional.

To encourage audiences to change channel, programme producers must show the distinctive value of their programmes, and this largely relies upon the capacity of individual creative labourers to properly negotiate their level of creative autonomy. Even when an

organisation provides clear guidelines to create a promising programme (for example, in the cases shared by interviewees TM and JL whereby they were asked to make a 'newish' programme by mixing two completely incompatible but popular existing concepts), it appears that the organisations and the management departments do not have solutions for the successful actualisation of abstract concepts into a feasible framework for a television programme. Only properly professionalised Main PDs with strong creative ambitions are able to produce a 'workable' programme. During the production process, PDs balance their own creative ambitions with other market and organisational needs; as a result, the programme comes to reflect values in the media industry, including commercial and cultural values. In this sense, it could be said that broadcasting organisations are largely dependent on the individual capacity of PDs.

Importantly, due to the negotiation process that PDs undertake between their multiple identities during the programme production process, PDs' desires come to reflect not only their personal ambitions to actualise their creative ambition and professional reputation but also organisational aims. Interestingly, broadcasting organisations themselves have simultaneous but contradictory motives in this context. On the one hand, organisations need to provide a space for creative workers to enjoy a sufficient level of creative autonomy such that innovation can be brought about in the longer term, but on the other hand, to survive in the industry, television companies must seek short-term (that is, commercial) goals. Consequently, television programmes encompass cultural values within commercial value, as creative labourers spontaneously take into account both commercial value and creative value in the negotiation process of creative autonomy. This also reflects the complex nature of creative products, for which it is difficult to make a clear division of cultural or creative values away from commercial value. A typical process of television programme production, which requires both a professionalised Main PD workforce and an adequate organisational

environment, is illustrated in Figure 5.5. With this perspective, we not only escape the dichotomous perception of commerce and creativity, but also understand the importance of maintaining the individual identity of creative workers for the co-development of both individual workers and creative organisations.

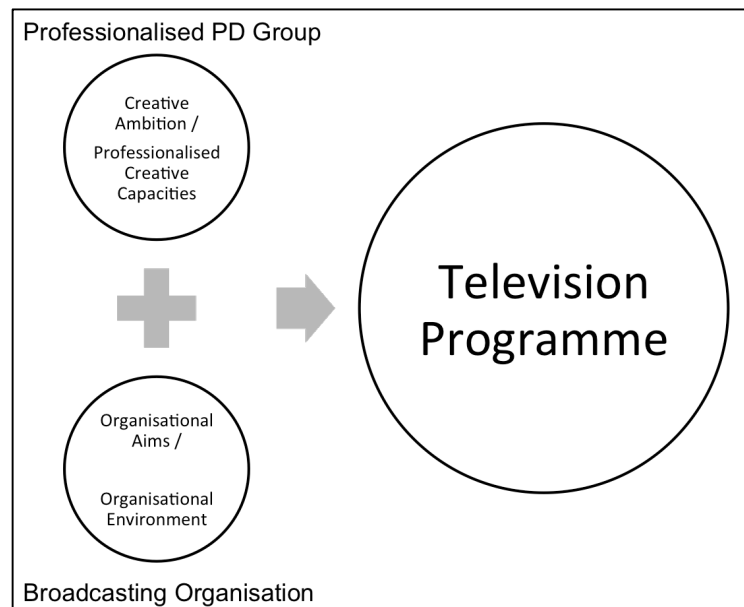


Figure 5.5
The typical production process of a television programme

3) Possible concerns about the crucial role of the individual identity of creative workers

As many studies have pointed out, the tendency of creative workers to voluntarily admit extended working hours, lack of personal time, and the need to somewhat compromise themselves for the commercial value of the creative product, has the potential to be abused by commercial organisations. It has frequently been suggested that the industry could use the individual enthusiasm of creative workers as a tool to implicitly force workers to endure extended working hours or additional responsibilities (Banks, 2007c). Such criticisms on cultural work tend to argue that creative workers risk themselves to fit into the industrial structure and are also forced to give up their own preferences due to market pressures.

However, as I have emphasised throughout this research, the creative production process is not solely based on top-down communication between organisations and creative workers. Intrinsically, PDs naturally reflect the needs of their organisation and the market through their multiple identities, and as a result, creative workers come to seek a way to demonstrate their own creative desires within the given commercial aim of programmes. In the process, the level of creative autonomy is negotiated by balancing the wishes that a creative worker has as a creative self, as an employed creative labourer, and a creative professional. Extrinsically, although organisations could intervene in the production process by pressurising PDs to achieve higher ratings, the results of programme production are largely dependent on the creative and professional capacity of PDs. Most importantly, within such a situation, it was observed that PDs did not easily compromise their desire for the enjoyment that could be achieved by pursuing their creative ambition, even if the persistence of such an ideal required them to take on additional work or to give up many aspects of their personal lives.

In a certain sense, such a decision to work more (or to work with less stability or income) to maintain the level of enjoyment from work could be viewed as self-exploitation. However, from the creative workers' point of view, at least in the case of my interviewees, it was perceived as a choice made primarily for themselves as they wish to make a living from the work that they love. In this sense, I believe a different viewpoint is needed to properly understand the distinctive tendency of creative workers: the cultural/creative industries are undoubtedly commercialised but if this is the only outlet through which creative workers can both realise their own creative ambitions and make a living, then they must find a way to assertively actualise their personal creative and professional ambitions within the given industrial structure. For PDs, their job was perceived as an ideal way in which to enjoy the creative production process while making a living within the contemporary media market.

Indeed, the strong will of PDs to maintain their PD career was very clearly observed, even though it sometimes required them to undergo a difficult negotiation process, not only with organisational interventions and market pressures, but also with their responsibilities as a family member.

5.4.3. Concluding remarks:

understanding the active roles of creative labourers

As seen in this study, findings indicate that individual creative workers play a crucial role within the highly commercialised entertainment television industry. By bringing their creative ambitions to the field, they sit at the core of the creative development of the broadcasting market as a whole. Previous theoretical assumptions about somewhat naïve cultural labourers who primarily seek non-commercial artistic value through the production process are unable to sufficiently explain the distinctive characteristics of PDs in this research. PDs were assertive not only in maintaining their personal creative ambitions and a high level of subjective enjoyment, but also in preserving a good level of economic stability and their professional reputation. The negotiation process was informed by these mixed desires and the level of creative autonomy available to PDs was inevitably adjusted according to each context; however, the strong desire to hold onto and develop their individual creative ambitions always acted as the foundation for such negotiations. The distinctive personalities of PDs seems to have been shaped even before they entered into the field, and findings suggested that PDs appeared to uphold their own creative desires throughout the career development process even in unfavourable working environments. By both maintaining a good relationship with organisations and building a favourable reputation in the field, it seemed that PDs looked for opportunities to demonstrate their creative ambitions and professional capacity free from strong external intervention. In this sense, if the amount of

creative autonomy available in the present is limited, this should perhaps be viewed in light of this being part of a negotiation process about the extent of creative autonomy available to a PD in the future.

For broadcasting organisations, having such a workforce within the organisation is crucial to the actualisation of long-term aims (such as the creation of a new trend), as those who have strong intrinsic motivations for work tend to energetically bring something new. To ensure the distinctiveness of the individual identity of creative workers is linked to the creative development of the industry, the provision of appropriate organisational support and management strategies is an indispensable condition. In other words, individual creative workers need organisational protection and support to continue their creative career, and organisations need individual creative workers to endure successfully. This therefore leads us to the following further discussion on the consideration of a proper relationship between professionalised creative labourers and broadcasting organisations such that they co-exist for mutual development.

CH 6. Further Discussion:

The Mutual Development of Creative Professionals and Organisations

As seen in sub-chapter 5.2, perceptions about the relationship with broadcasters have recently begun to change amongst younger PDs in the Korean broadcasting industry. This does not mean that a stable organisational status is no longer important for professionalised PDs; rather, it seems that individual PDs have gradually come to have a higher level of negotiating power in the professionalised labour market due to heightened competition between traditional terrestrial broadcasters and a few emerging cable television companies (including CPC channels). Meanwhile, due to the massive outflow of those professionalised Main PDs who had been trained by an organisation, broadcasters have begun to reduce training budgets for inexperienced graduates. In mid-2015, one of the most powerful Korean terrestrial broadcasters, MBC, announced that the company would no longer recruit graduates; although not officially stated, it is generally believed that this was because of a significant reduction in training investment for inexperienced hires. MBC instead began to proactively attract experienced PDs from less influential broadcasters or production companies. When considering the fact that KBS and SBS have also begun to regularly recruit experienced entertainment show PDs⁵⁶ it seems that conventional broadcasters (especially terrestrial broadcasters) have gradually become reluctant to invest in the professional training process of the PD workforce, and wish to take advantage of more experienced professionals. As a result, as seen earlier in Figure 5.2 (p. 156), since movement between diverse organisations is continually vitalised by entertainment PDs, junior level PDs must now deal with more complex career development stages to become

⁵⁶ Unlike MBC, at the time of writing, KBS and SBS do still recruit graduates who do not have prior work experience.

established in the labour market.

From this perspective, some might argue that the future of the PD labour market would become similar to the typical environment of a project-based organisation, which is largely individualised. Briefly speaking, it has generally been believed that in a project-based organisation the potential for innovation naturally increases because the organisation is able to deal with risks and uncertainty by integrating diverse knowledge and skills from various project teams and the organisation is therefore able to instantly react to rapid changes in the market (Turner & Keegan, 1999; Hobday, 2000; Grabher, 2002, 2004; cited in Davenport, 2006). In contrast, however, many have argued that such a project-based working environment eventually brings about the loss of specialist knowledge and skills in the labour market as workers lose the opportunity to develop their professional capacity through a stable in-house training system (Starkey & Tempest, 2004; cited in Davenport, 2006).

When it comes to the entertainment PD labour market, it seems that the location of in-house training is shifting to emerging cable broadcasters and cable network organisations, rather than disappearing altogether. As discussed earlier in Chapter 3.3, it is very unlikely that external private educational bodies (that is, 'Broadcasting Academies') will replace the role of the distinctive on-the-job training system (Doje) for PDs, as these bodies cannot offer substantive work experiences. Instead, many graduates now begin their career at one of the few established cable broadcasters, which have assertively scouted sufficiently professionalised Main PDs from terrestrial broadcasters. In the entertainment genre, these newly emerging broadcasters have begun to assertively recruit inexperienced graduates because, to become a game-changer in the conventional television industry, it is crucial to nurture and develop a stable creative work force within the organisation. Interestingly, as observed by Seok-Hyun Kim of CJ E&M in Chapter 5.2 (p. 156), to recover from the

significant loss of the professionalised PD workforce, one of the main recruitment targets of terrestrial broadcasting organisations is now junior PDs who have been trained by cable broadcasters (see Figure 5.2, p. 156). In some ways, this shows that television organisations now need to attract professionalised Main PDs to bring enhanced performance to the organisation; thus, provision of a desirable working environment may be one way in which a good professional PD workforce can be attracted and retained. For established broadcasters, it is also about maintaining those PD employees who were trained within the organisation from the outset, as the interview with JJ gave insight to (see Chapter 3.3.2, p. 85-86). In this sense, it could be said that the PD labour market remains gradually professionalised, rather than merely individualised. Presumably, the professional training system for PDs will continue to relocate, but as the industry needs a sufficiently professionalised PD workforce for its creative development, professional training will continue and may even be expanded through the active flow of professionalised PDs within the labour market. In this sense, it could be argued that the importance of maintaining a good relationship between professionalised entertainment PDs and broadcasting organisations increases for both players. Based on this perspective, I will now suggest strategies with which current broadcasting organisations might be able to appropriately manage the professionalised PD workforce.

6.1. PDs as creative professionals

In sub-chapter 5.2, I observed that the work of PDs has many aspects in common with the conventional criteria of the definition of professional occupations: the need for higher levels of education and training, strong peer networks, and the need for professional control over the labour market and working conditions. Different from traditional professional occupations however, in which individuals tend to qualify as a professional before entering into the actual

labour market, it appeared that PDs typically shape their professional identity within the organisational environment, regardless of whether their working status is as a full-time employee or not. In the Korean entertainment television industry, broadcasting organisations typically provide an environment that enables PDs not only to accumulate the necessary knowledge and skills, but also to establish a professional peer network. Thus, entering into a stable broadcasting organisation provides a good foundation for an enduring career as a PD because the initial Doje training process grants such a strong early career history.

Since broadcasting organisations provide such an environment for the professionalisation of PDs, organisations tend to perceive PDs as more similar to typical employed labourers who are unlikely to argue for independent rights to their work. However, as I discussed earlier, PDs gradually identify themselves as an independent creative professional as their career develops, and come to realise their own unique value as a creative professional within the organisation. This brings about not only internal conflict between workers' identities as an employed labourer and a professional, but also external conflict between professionalised Main PDs and their organisations. Recent changes in the Korean entertainment television PD labour market show that such conflicts have been linked to a massive outflow of PDs, who were previously employed by the most stable major terrestrial broadcasters, to less established cable broadcasters or production companies.

From this perspective, I have suggested that media organisations need to understand the value of maintaining and encouraging the professional capacity of PDs for the sustainable development of the organisation. To do so, I pointed out the need to rethink appropriate management strategies that enable PDs to constantly nurture and develop their professional capacity while maintaining a good relationship with their organisation. To consider a proper concept of organisational management for the co-development of both creative professionals

and organisations, I have attempted to seek a balance between conventional professionalism studies and creative management research.

6.2. The characteristics of creative professionals

To discuss the management strategies needed for creative professionals, we first need to identify the distinctive attributes of creative professionals, which are different from ordinary workers. In conventional professionalism studies, professional occupations share several characteristics in common. Among six frequently cited characteristics of professions⁵⁷ that Beam (1988, pp. 5-7) summarised, I would like to particularly focus on three attributes that fit well with the specificity of PD work, and it is these that provide the foundation for a new concept of organisational management for creative professionals. First, professions are traditionally supposed to work without direct supervision or control over the working process, which means that individuals need a proper level of autonomy to demonstrate their professional capacity during work. Considering the case of PDs, since a Main PD typically takes full responsibility for the overall production process of a single television programme, they tend to work relatively autonomously while being freed from close supervision from above. The foundation for offering such a high level of autonomy is not only a PD's specialised skills and knowledge, but also their distinctive ability to nurture their own creative capacity based upon their individual creative ambitions.

Secondly, professions have been traditionally considered to care more about the quality of service as opposed to economic benefits. Since the traditional concept of professionalism

⁵⁷ In addition to the three attributes I examine more closely, Beam listed the following three characteristics of professions: 1) The occupation must be organised around a systematic, theoretical body of knowledge or specialised technique; 2) The occupation must develop a professional culture; 3) Professions tend to be life-long, terminal occupations (1988, pp. 5-7).

primarily considered those occupations that deal with public service, many studies of professionalism have underlined the social role of professions. At the same time however, it has been observed that this does not mean that professionals should deny the importance of their own financial stability. That is, seeking self-interest is not necessarily perceived as being in opposition to public welfare or the quality of professional service. For PDs, it also appeared that they assertively sought personal satisfaction from the creative production process while producing a programme for viewers. They wished not only to seek personal economic stability and creative ambition, but also to show and share their sense of creativity with the audience. Importantly, many interviewees emphasised the importance to them of having a positive impact on audience groups and society by enabling viewers to experience enjoyment and pleasure through their programmes. Such a perspective is in line with the crucial social role of traditional professions.

Lastly, professional work has traditionally been identified as something that should not be standardised. Professionals are supposed to add their own individual capacity and excellence to the shared standards of specialised knowledge and skills. Beam (1988) added that this aspect of professional work justifies the need for individual autonomy of professionals in the production process. This particular attribute of professional occupations is one of the most distinctive characteristics of PD labour, which is linked to the need for higher levels of creativity. Indeed, professionalised PDs should add new value to existing market trends and previously successful formulas through their own sense of creativity. This should be done within the shared standards and knowledge of programme production, as PD work needs to be framed within the field in the context of an acceptable television programme. To set up a new concept of organisational management for creative professionals, the above attributes of professional occupations should be carefully considered.

6.3. The importance of the professionalised creative workforce within organisations

The relationship between professional workers and organisations has traditionally been regarded as 'incompatible' because the top-down structure of a typical organisation has not been perceived to fit well with the independent working style of professionals. However, maintaining both scale and quality in the professionalised creative workforce is crucial for creative organisations to bring continuous innovation and commercial success. Thus, to link the existence of professional groups to the co-development of both organisations and professionals, it is essential to find an appropriate concept of organisational management strategy. First and foremost, the management concept should offer a sufficient level of professional autonomy with regard to the characteristics of professionalised work identified above. However, at the same time, organisations should not allow this higher level of autonomy to threaten the overall aim of the organisation. Thus, to desirably co-exist with professionalised workers, organisations need to embrace the various needs and desires of professionals within the universal organisational aim, by providing both an appropriate level of autonomy and boundaries to professional activities.

Beam's (1988) 'open-system model' provides us with the typical needs of a professional group within an organisation. According to Beam, an organisation that has an open-system model consists of 'loosely coupled subsystems or parts'; to properly manage such an organisation, the management should provide an appropriate environment that suits each professional group's working process. In Beam's model, since the goals and activities of different professional groups are negotiated within the organisation, it is inevitable that some conflict between professional groups will determine the overall goals and activities. In the process, the power relationship between each sub-group plays a crucial role in defining organisational aims. To examine the range of activities of a semi-professionalised set of professionals, he observed professional journalists. Unlike an occupation such as physicians

(whose working processes, from setting a goal to creating the result, are largely dependent on the workers themselves), the value of journalists' work was typically judged by readers (major client) and advertisers (third party). Similarly to PDs, external players inevitably intervened in the working process of journalists, and journalists did not have exclusive rights when controlling the production process or the aims of their work. Therefore, for groups, such as journalists and PDs, in which the professional group's organisational power is relatively weaker, Beam observed that the dominant power group (which in some cases may be the organisation) must admit the 'essential' value of the professional group in order to maintain the quality of work needed to enhance the overall performance of the organisation. Beam also pointed out that not a single occupation would have absolute control or autonomy throughout their working process, and as such the organisation needs to protect the professional quality of their work and encourage professional performance: to do so, the organisation needs to offer a level of professional autonomy to the professionalised workforce.

If Beam's open-system model gives us ideas about the proper management strategy for a professionalised group within an organisation, Bilton and Cummings' observation on SLT (Simultaneous Loose-Tight) strategy for creative organisations helps us to think about the adequate level of balance between autonomy and organisational control (2010, pp. 199-201; Peters & Waterman, 1982). Simply put, SLT advocates that organisations should have two methods of control: loose control over those working processes that require an employee's autonomy, but tight control over wider organisational activities to ensure that autonomous individuals' performances are grounded in the central aims of the organisation. The SLT model emphasises the important role of the organisation in providing a balanced system that prevents organisational failure due to excessive autonomy of employees based on an immoderate level of loose control. Although SLT was a general management strategy for

creative organisations, rather than one that specifically reflected the relationship between creative professionals and the organisation, Bilton and Cummings' notion that creative organisations should understand the need to offer a proper level of autonomy in the creative process can be applied to shape an appropriate management strategy for the mutual development of creative professionals and organisations.

Throughout my interviews, it appeared that many broadcasting organisations frequently intervened in PDs' professionalised working processes by pressurising them with the matter of ratings. PDs were also sometimes forced to give up their major creative concept or important programme plots due to the power of advertisers. As a result, professionalised Main PDs were discouraged from bringing newness and value to the production process; dissatisfaction with this organisational environment has been linked to the massive outflow of the professionalised PD workforce from the most stable and established broadcasting organisations, and having lost this workforce, the quality of entertainment shows across these broadcasters has decreased. Based on the fact that most broadcasting organisations tend to control the PDs' professionalised working process too tightly, adopting several strategies of loose control might help organisations to allow PDs to bring higher levels of professional quality to their work by enabling PDs to autonomously negotiate their multiple desires throughout the production processes. In addition, considering a typical PD's willingness to accept heavy workloads and extended working schedules for the sake of excellence in their programmes, it is also crucial that broadcasting organisations should provide adequate and appropriate health and welfare policies for PDs to maintain a desirable scale of creative workforce within the organisation (Amabile, 1998).

6.4. Possible concerns about the status of the creative professional

Presumably, one of the concerns that organisations would have with such an approach might be the possibility that professionalised labourers' own desires could be a threat to the organisation. In a case study on US art professionals, DiMaggio (1991) observed that professionals have a kind of 'dual consciousness' that enables them to have two different roles in an organisation, according to their status in each context. As an organisational member, professionals conformed to the given roles, but at the wider occupational field level, they even attacked the existing system that employed them to promote the development of their own occupational field. From my own empirical research, it was also clearly observed that PDs simultaneously presented different identities, as a creative self, an employed labourer, and a creative professional. As a creative professional, PDs wish to have greater negotiating power with organisations, enabling them to organise their working process more autonomously, and to bring about their own creative ambitions as a creative self. However, establishing a good relationship with the organisation was also crucial for PDs, as the organisational environment is an indispensable condition needed for the maintenance of a PD career over the long term, and as such, PDs naturally reflect organisational aims in general.

In addition, there is also a widespread idea that the concept of professional autonomy is a somewhat outdated and abstract ideal, as it does not fit with a competitive, free market structure. Especially, many professionals have been criticised for using their privileged status and autonomy for their own economic interests rather than for the benefit of the consumer (Freidson, 2001). There has also been the view that professionals and specialised experts tend not to develop knowledge or bring innovations but merely become complacent toward their current privileged status by controlling their own labour market (Abbott, 1988; Larson, 1977). From this perspective, professionals are perceived as a group that adheres only to

previously proven ways and standardised problem-solving methods, which means that it is difficult to imagine that professionals will bring creativity to the market.

However, several meaningful empirical studies have shown that professionals can assertively expand and renew their expert knowledge and bring new insights to their field when they are able to exhibit a sufficient level of professional autonomy. DiMaggio (1991) observed the diffusion process of the US public museum between 1920 and 1940, and identified that the roles of professionals were crucial in reforming old art museum policies in the US. Professional curators had more flexible views about the quality of art and were more open to unfamiliar approaches. Their strong network throughout the country also not only assertively nurtured the next generation of professionals but developed and shared new knowledge amongst them. In a similar vein, Rao et al. (2003) analysed the *nouvelle cuisine* movement in France between 1970 and 1997, and found that established elite chefs led structural changes within the professional field. This study identified that the abandonment of traditional cuisine was needed 'to enhance the professional control of restaurants by chefs' (pp. 805). Likewise, other research shows that professionals in various fields have the capacity to drive structural changes and development of the industry when their professional autonomy is properly guaranteed. As such, properly professionalised labourers are capable of bringing needed structural changes for the development of an industry by challenging fixed ideas and bringing new insights, as US art professionals and French professional chefs have accomplished.

In my own empirical research, it was also clearly observed that professionalised PDs continually sought their enjoyment from the creative production process, and wished to bring about new trends through their own programmes. For PDs also, the organisational environment was crucial to nurture the professional level of their creative capacities. Many

interviewees observed that the level of creativity increases as their PD career develops, and the level of professionalisation is the defining factor. Newly recruited PDs tend to have somewhat unrealistic ideas without any consideration of the actualisation process, but having begun the professionalisation process, PDs begin to think up unique but feasible ideas for a programme production. It could be said that through the professionalisation process, the mere novelty of a PD's work is transformed into actual creativity by the addition of value (as per my earlier definition of creativity). Similarly to the US art movement and French chefs, PDs have also demonstrated their ability to bring newness to the market and as such, there is the potential for this group to bring about more assertive change of the industry.

6.5. Suggesting a proper concept of organisational management for creative professionals

To maximise the organisational advantage of professional PD groups, organisations first need to admit the essential role that professional PDs play in the overall performance of the organisation. Similarly to the journalists in Beam's (1988) study, PDs do not have exclusive control over the professionalised working process in the labour market, but it is still crucial that their professional capacity is continually nurtured and developed to bring organisational and industrial success. Considering the fact that the quality of professionalised work is largely affected by environmental factors, organisations need to offer an appropriate level of control to professionalised PDs to organise their working process and direction themselves. In this sense, the organisational management strategy needed for the PD creative professional workforce could be suggested as a concept that is inspired by SLT. In Table 6.1, I have summarised the key points of suggested management strategies for current broadcasting organisations.

Purpose	Adopting the Strategies of Loose Control	
<p>Securing professional quality of work from PDs</p> <p>Encouraging PDs to nurture and develop the level of creativity</p> <p>Ensuring PDs' activities are embraced within the organisational aim</p>	<p>Pre-condition</p> <p>Admitting the essential value of the professionalised work of PDs</p>	<p>Offering <u>professional autonomy</u> over the creative production process</p>
		<p>Offering <u>rights of control</u> over the planning of professionalised work and the training process</p>
		<p>Offering <u>creative autonomy</u> to enable PDs to enjoy the production process</p>
		<p>Providing <u>a stable working environment</u> to enable PDs to concentrate on the creative process</p> <p><u>an adequate and appropriate health and welfare system</u></p>

Table 6.1
A suggested organisational management strategy for creative labourers
(inspired by SLT from Bilton and Cummings, 2010)

CH 7. Conclusion

The present research examined a new definitional framework of creative autonomy that was formulated based on the notion of the multiple identities of creative workers. The mixed desires found in PDs were closely related to their multiple identities and the identities that were found in the creative production process were further related to the paradoxical and contradictory relationships of creative workers with organisations, audiences, markets, and professional communities. A study about such multiple identities and their link to the level of creative autonomy available to creative workers is particularly important because this can tell us how creative labourers deal with the conflict experienced between innate desires and the complex external environment during creative production processes. It also enables us to comprehend the core driver for the continuous creative development of the cultural/creative industries, which have become unprecedentedly commercialised in the present era.

For this research, a qualitative case study was conducted in the PD labour market of the entertainment television industry in South Korea. The study employed semi-structured in-depth interviews with sixteen Main PDs, observation of the changes in the PD labour market, and document analysis. Thematic analysis was employed to analyse the interview data, and the research identified three different themes: ratings (sub-chapter 5.1); the process of professionalisation (5.2); and the importance of deriving enjoyment from work (5.3). In this concluding chapter, the key findings and arguments of the present research will be summarised, and suggestions for future research provided.

7.1. Key findings and arguments

Before undertaking an analysis of the negotiated nature of creative autonomy, this research

first examined the validity of previous studies that considered the concept of creative autonomy. Prior research in the cultural industries has tended to infer distance between creative workers and their employers, and has described the tensions between creativity and commerce as a conflict between labourers and organisations. Recently, a few attempts have been made to understand and elucidate the paradoxical and complex relationships surrounding cultural/creative workers (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010; Paterson, 2001; Wei, 2012; Zoellner, 2010), while some authors have suggested a new concept of autonomy (Banks, 2010; Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010).

In line with such endeavours, the present research concentrated on the ambivalent attitudes that creative workers hold throughout their career development process. By observing how established television labourers (who were working in a stable organisational environment), negotiated their level of creative autonomy in workplace, this study sought to expand the scope of cultural/creative work research as this has to date largely focused on project-based careers and short-term contracted workers. The current research found that PDs as creative labourers possess three simultaneous but different identities during the programme production process; that is, a creative self, an employed creative labourer, and a creative professional. Based on this multiplicity, PDs not only sought creative autonomy in the production process, but also desired to enjoy a good level of economic stability and to maintain a sufficient level of subjective 'enjoyment' in their creative work. The study found that the three different identities of PDs are not innate, but are constructed throughout the career development process. Due to this, different desires arise from each identity; these desires are reflected not only in the personal creative ambitions of PDs, but also in organisational aims, professional standards of quality, and the importance of audience reactions.

To identify how these diverse needs and demands are interrelated and how they affect the level of creative autonomy available to PDs, the research considered (in sub-chapters 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3) three different themes that emerged from thematic analysis of the interview data. Throughout this empirical analysis, the study found that the nature of creative autonomy is inherently subject to negotiation, the form of which is influenced by a variety of environmental and subjective elements within the production process.

To understand the complex and multilateral attitudes that creative labourers exhibit in the commercialised creative production process, in sub-chapter 5.1 the study observed how individual desires are related to the commercial value of a television programme (viewership ratings). In interviews, PDs demonstrated three different desires based on each identity. As a creative self, PDs wished to receive a positive audience reaction and positive feedback. As an employed creative labourer, PDs desired to build trust with their organisations by achieving commercial success, which then in turn provided them with the opportunity to produce a programme with minimal organisational intervention. Lastly, as a creative professional, PDs wished to achieve good viewership ratings because these directly affected their reputation in the professional field, which is crucial to the long-term success of their career.

In sub-chapter 5.2, the research examined the contradictory relationship between professionalised individual PDs and broadcasting organisations. Findings suggested that both players need one another to sustain their success in the field. For PDs, the in-house training system found in broadcasting organisations is needed not only to acquire specialised knowledge and skills, but also to formulate important professional networks. Once professionalised, maintaining a good relationship with broadcasting organisations similarly remains necessary for the long-term continuation of the PD career because the

production process for broadcasting content is deeply dependent upon systemised organisational structures. Meanwhile, for broadcasting organisations, it was important to have a professionalised PD workforce who derive innate pleasure from the creative production process and are able to bring continuous innovation and creativity to programme production. Although the short-term aim of broadcasting organisations is inevitably based on commercial principles and efficiency, organisations acknowledge the need to provide a proper level of creative autonomy to PDs in order to achieve their long-term aim (that is, producing a new prototype programme which may in turn allow them to initiate new market trends). Under these conditions, it was found that the negotiation of creative autonomy is not easily eliminated by either structural power or the commercial drive of the market: PDs themselves assertively negotiated the level of creative autonomy available to them to maintain their career over the long term, and it also appeared that organisations have begun to realise the importance of preserving a sufficiently professionalised PD workforce to achieve good performance.

In sub-chapter 5.3, the study challenged previous assumptions that creative workers are forced to become a precarious workforce through exploitation of their strong intrinsic motivation to bring artistic value to the production process and their need for personal satisfaction. Similarly to previous findings in studies that have interpreted cultural work as having precarious conditions, it was found that PDs do indeed have a very strong will to maintain their creative ambitions and to acquire subjective satisfaction during the creative process. Furthermore, it was observed that PDs' desires to maintain a sufficient level of enjoyment from their work had the potential to negatively affect their work-life balance and to engender discontent from family members. However, the present study revealed that PDs' creative desires were bilateral: that is, to the same extent that PDs wished to derive enjoyment from their work, they were also interested in achieving economic stability and

public recognition for their work. With the subject of copyright, for example, PDs expressed their desire to be recognised as a competent creative professional by audiences and the market; they were also aware of the possible additional revenue opportunity, but many interviewees estimated that income from royalties was unlikely to be as good as their current salaries. Likewise, most interviewees had realistic and considered views about economic stability. Based on these findings, the study argued that PDs have distinctive value criteria about the labour process in which they place similar value on the need to derive enjoyment from their work, the desire to maintain a good level of economic stability, and the wish for appropriate recognition to build their own reputation. As such, the level of creative autonomy available to a PD was assertively negotiated in a way that balanced these desires and actualised creative ambitions in the given circumstances.

7.2. The role of individual creative workers in the cultural/creative industries

If we view the distinctive characteristics of creative workers that have been revealed through the present research as core creative drivers in the industry, it is also possible to see that an individual's willingness to negotiate the level of creative autonomy is a crucial asset for both organisations and the industry as a whole. More importantly, we escape previous assumptions about cultural workers as being subordinated and having little space to demonstrate their own artistic views. We are now able to understand creative workers as more assertive and independent, and once organisations and the industry are able to admit the essential value of creative workers, then the workers themselves will have confidence in their own professionalised creative capacities as the essential value of the industry.

Furthermore, based on this perspective, it could be said that the individual identity of creative workers might play a key role in easing the level of standardisation within the

cultural/creative industries because it becomes a driving force for the continuous development of the commercialised cultural/creative industries. This notion implies the importance of maintaining the individual identity of creative workers not only for the labourers themselves, but also for the sustainable development of creative organisations and the cultural/creative industries.

To enable creative individuals to continually act as a key player, an appropriate organisational environment was identified as one of the most crucial conditions. Above all, organisations should understand the need to facilitate creative autonomy for creative labourers if they wish to sustain and develop innovative culture within organisation, by securing professional quality of creative work, encouraging labourers to nurture the level of creativity, and ensuring that the activities of creative workers are embraced within the organisational aim. To do this, as discussed in Chapter 6, organisations first need to admit the irreplaceable value of professionalised creative workers. If creative organisations accept the significance of maintaining the creative workforce within the organisational boundary, they become able to offer the correct level of creative autonomy and the necessary degree of discretionary authority during the production process to creative labourers. In turn, this allows both creative individuals and creative organisations to find a means of sustainable co-development for one another.

Some may argue that this concept of creative autonomy and its emphasis on the individual identity of creative labourers may force creative workers to take full responsibility for the production process and its result, without offering protection to the workers when innovations fail, as is occasionally inevitable. However, I believe that this approach rather provides a firm reason to guarantee a good level of creative autonomy to labourers, as it shows the irreplaceable value of individual creative workers. The enjoyment of creative workers in the

creative production process cannot be deliberately shaped or educated externally through factors such as organisational standards or norms. From my interviews, the majority of interviewees observed that their 'seemingly insane' choice to continue the PD career is possible because of their innate tendency to enjoy producing something interesting for themselves and others. Conversely, in the case of myself as a previous creative labourer, who left the field after five years, the personal desire to enjoy the creative process did not supersede other desires, such as maintaining a good work-life balance and my own wellbeing. Previous studies have argued that the environment shapes an individual's personality but, in my own experience, the structure of the environment was not enough to compel me to continue in this career and I sought to understand what it was that motivated my colleagues and seniors who remained. Although in some ways, I am arguing that the ability to enjoy the creative production process is innate and rooted in an individual's personality, not deliberately shaped or managed by structure or external pressures, this is however distinctive from the myth of creative genius, as the ability to enjoy the process does not guarantee the quality of the work.

Of course, creative labourers' individual identities are surely affected by the commercial market environment and organisational pressures. But their individual identity as a creative self still produces the core creative value of the industry, and it has the potential to bring changes to the market in a similar manner to that identified by Giddens (1991) regarding the possibility of autonomous individuals in society. Such intrinsically motivated workforces, which have also been professionalised with specialised knowledge, skills, and networks, cannot be easily replaced with marketing strategies or risk-averse management logic, and this irreplaceable value of individual creative workers becomes one of the core assets of the contemporary cultural/creative industries. This explains the reason to provide an appropriate working environment for creative labourers to demonstrate and maximise their creative

potential. As Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) contended, good work brings good quality cultural/creative products; in turn, this will be linked to the entire innovation of the industry.

This leads us to the need to combine the ideals of individual creative workers with the overall aims of creative organisations. To do so, we must understand the specificity of creative workers' multiple identities, wishing to satisfy their core desire to bring creativity to the industry by negotiating their level of creative autonomy. Again, their enjoyment of the creative working process cannot be deliberately shaped. It seems creative workers enter into the field with the seed to bloom such a distinctive capacity for enjoyment from creative work, but this capacity can only play its proper role when cultivated in an appropriate environment. From this perspective, we can see that individual creative labourers are not necessarily in conflict with the commercial aims of creative organisations and the industry, but rather, the two should be understood as good companions to one another as they each provide value that the other does not have.

7.3. Suggestions for further research

The current research has several important implications for further research. First, given the narrow scope of the case study being limited to PDs in the South Korean entertainment television genre alone, it is necessary to evaluate the new definitional framework of creative autonomy in other creative sectors and with other types of creative labourers. In particular, given the fact that this study concentrated on understanding the distinctive organisation-based working process of television PDs, many of whom were full-time employees, a more individualised and fragmented creative labour market would be a good ground for comparison.

In addition, as I briefly presented in Chapter 6, more endeavours to link studies about creative management strategies to the creative labour market itself are needed. Although researchers have already observed that the creative and cultural sectors require different management approaches to those of other sectors in order to appropriately facilitate labourers' creativity (Amabile, 1996; Bilton, 2007, 2010; Bilton & Cummings, 2010; Bilton & Leary, 2002), the ideals of creative management have not yet been actualised in the creative workplace. In the present research it was found that the majority of interviewees were acutely aware of the need for proper management strategies that reflect the specificity of creative work: although they appreciated their current jobs, it appeared that they could not help but become discouraged when they realised that the management system of their organisations was not much different to that of a typical manufacturing company. In this sense, I believe that efforts to link academic research to the field of labour itself will help the co-development of both domains. Not only that but such endeavours will enrich both our understanding of creative workers and the quality of their lives.

Appendix 1: Interviewee list

#	Interviewee	Gender	Date	Interview Location	Int. Length (Hours)	Career Length (Years)	Organisation Type
1	WL	M	05/06/2014	Yeonjangeon, Sangam-dong, Seoul	3	16	Cable (Entertainment)
2	HS	F	10/06/2014	Coffee Bean café, Gangnam station, Seoul	1.5	14	Cable (Entertainment)
3	HJ	M	11/06/2014	Starbucks, Seosomun, Seoul	1.5	9	Cable(Manifold)
4	EK	F	11/06/2014	Starbucks, Seosomun, Seoul	1.5	13	Cable(Manifold)
5	SL	M	12/06/2014	KTX Train (Seoul-Changwon)	2	8	Cable (Entertainment)
6	JP	M	17/06/2014	CJ Café, Sangam-dong, Seoul	1.5	13	Cable (Entertainment)
7	SP	M	18/06/2014	Green Cloud Café, Hongdae, Seoul	3	24	Cable (Entertainment)
8	EH	M	24/06/2014	Gwanghwamoon, Seoul	2	15	Cable(Manifold)
9	YP	M	24/06/2014	Gwanghwamoon, Seoul	2	14	Cable(Manifold)
10	JL	F	30/06/2014	Ilmin Gallery Café, Seoul	1.5	14	Cable(Manifold)
11	OJ	M	02/07/2014	Yangpyeong Station Café, Seoul	1.5	15	Freelance
12	BM	M	03/07/2014	Gwanghwamoon, Seoul	1.5	10	Cable(Manifold)
13	TM	M	04/07/2014	Dutch Café, Sangam-dong, Seoul	1.5	11	Cable (Entertainment)
14	JJ	M	08/07/2014	Yeouido, Seoul	2	30	Terrestrial
15	YJ	F	12/07/2014	Bambino Quizine, Sangam-dong, Seoul	2	9	Cable (Entertainment)
16	HWS	M	16/07/2014	Dutch Café, Sangam-dong, Seoul	2	15	Cable (Entertainment)

Appendix 2: The fixed questionnaire for interviews

[Original – in Korean]

THE UNIVERSITY OF
WARWICK

예능 텔레비전 프로그램 PD의 창조적 자율성 가치 연구

안녕하세요.

영국 워릭대학교 문화정책센터 창조산업분야 박사과정 중인 안채린입니다.

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2014년 여름

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1. 직무경력

- 1) 2014년 현재의 연차
- 2) 입봉 연도와 입봉 작품
- 3) 입봉작이 방송된 방송사와 당시 속해있던 조직명
- 4) 처음 방송일을 시작한 곳과 당시 업무
- 5) 2014년 현재까지 메인 PD로서 제작한 프로그램의 개수
- 6) 현재 조직 내 직위

2. 창의적 개인으로서의 PD

- 1) 방송 PD가 되고 싶다는 생각을 처음 갖게 된 동기
- 2) PD 직업을 갖기 위해 준비하며 거친 과정
- 3) 경력 축적과 입사 초기의 내적동기의 상관관계 (유지/발전되는가 또는 쇠퇴하는가)
- 4) PD 직무 중 자기만족감이 가장 큰 순간
- 5) PD로서 훈련/성장할수록 더 창의적이 되는가, 혹은 그 반대인가.
- 6) 프로그램의 '질'과 '대중성', 그리고 PD의 자기 만족감의 관계
- 7) PD는 다른 직업에 비해 자유로운 직업이라고 인식하는가?

3. 직장인으로서의 PD

- 1) '창조 노동자'로서의 PD
- 2) 프로그램 제작 퀄리티를 위한 조직 내부에서의 협상과 충돌
- 3) '주어진 환경에서 최선을 다한다' / '주어진 환경을 개선하고자 최선을 다한다'
- 4) 직장 선택에 있어서의 주체성
- 5) 조직적 직위(차장, 부장 등)와 제작 PD로서의 업무 역할 연관성
- 6) 프로그램 제작 과정 내에서 경험하는 상관 예우
- 7) '절대 타협할 수 없는' 나만의 제작 원칙이 있다면

4. 전문가로서의 PD

- 1) 방송 PD는 전문직인가?
- 2) 전문가로서 제작 전반의 전적인 재량권을 갖게 된다면?
- 3) 프로그램 제작 능력을 인정받은 훈련된 PD들의 산업적 가치는?
- 4) 피디 성장 과정에서 언제쯤부터 전문성을 띠게 되는 것 같은가?
- 5) 방송 기술, 마케팅, 소비자 문화 등의 변화·발전은 훈련된 PD 인력을 대체할 수 있다고 보나.
- 6) 전문성의 증가와 제작 창의성의 상관관계
- 7) 전문 PD인력 양성 기관의 가능성
- 8) 예능 PD들의 다양한 성장 배경(독립 프로덕션, 케이블 공채, 지상파 공채, 프리랜서 등)과 제작 자율성의 상관관계
- 9) 전문가 집단으로서의 예능 PD - 공통 주제에 대한 전문가 집단 활동의 가능성 여부

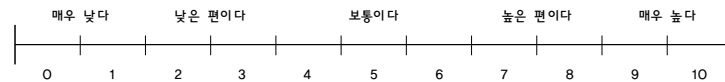
5. 통합적 자율성 : 창조적 자율성

본 연구는 창조적 노동자가 갖는 자율성을 개인적 자율성, 조직적 자율성, 전문가적 자율성의 세 단계로 구분하여 이해하고자 합니다. 각 내용을 간단히 요약하자면 아래와 같습니다.

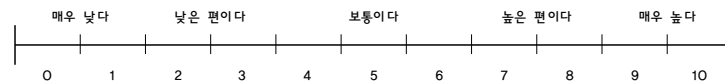
- ① 개인적 자율성- 창조적 개인으로서 갖는 강한 내적 동기와 직무를 통한 자기 만족감 추구
- ② 조직적 자율성- 직장인으로서 조직적 환경 및 현실과 타협된 창조적 자율성(자기결정성)
- ③ 전문가적 자율성- 전문가로서 제작 과정 내의 재량권을 인정받는 것, 동료 PD들과 전문가 집단을 형성하여 PD들은 물론 방송 산업의 발전을 위한 공동 행동 등을 이끌어낼 수 있는 가능성

1) 메인 PD로서 자신이 가진 창조적 자율성의 세 요소들에 각각 점수를 매겨본다면? (0-10점)

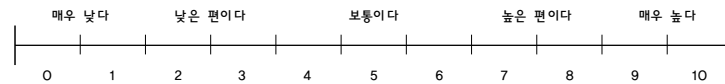
① 개인적 자율성



② 조직적 자율성



③ 전문가적 자율성



2) 위의 세 단계의 자율성 중 메인 PD로서 가장 높이고 싶다고 생각하는 자율성은?

3) 창조 노동에 있어 가장 중요한 자율성은 무엇이라고 생각하는가?

- 감사합니다 -

[Translated in English]

A study on the creative autonomy of entertainment television PDs

Dear Interviewee,

Thank you for accepting the interview for my PhD research, which is exploring the issues of creative autonomy in creative production processes.

The suggested topics below are provided to show the brief content of the upcoming interview, and the specific questions could be changed according to each interviewee's career length, produced programmes, and employer.

This interview is designed primarily for Main PDs who are working in the South Korean entertainment television industry. Here, 'Main PD' refers to a PD who has produced a programme as a leading PD of a production team.

Your opinion will be used only for academic purposes, and your name and the titles of your employer(s) will be anonymised. The expected interview length will be two hours at maximum, and every interview will be audio-recorded.

It is my wish that Korean entertainment television programmes continually develop and expand the range of Korean popular culture, and I hope this study might be a small step in reaching that goal. Thank you again for participating in this meaningful journey together.

2014 Summer

Chairin An

1. Career History

- 1) How long have you been a PD?
- 2) When did you first debut as a Main PD and what was the title of the programme?
- 3) Which broadcaster were you with when you debuted as a Main PD?
- 4) In which organisation did you begin your career as a PD?
- 5) How many programmes have you produced as a Main PD?
- 6) What is your official rank in your organisation?

2. PD as a Creative Individual

- 1) What was it that first motivated you to become a television PD?
- 2) What process did you go through to become a PD?
- 3) What has been the relationship between your intrinsic motivation and the development of your creativity?
- 4) Has the level of intrinsic motivation you have increased or decreased over the length of your career?
- 5) At what moment did you experience the most self-satisfaction?
- 6) How important to you is self-satisfaction in the production process?
- 7) What is the relationship between development of your creativity and the training process as PD?
- 8) How does the 'quality' and 'popularity' of a programme affect your own satisfaction as a PD?
- 9) What brings you satisfaction and self-actualisation as an Entertainment PD?
- 10) Is being a PD a 'freer job' than another occupation?

3. PD as an Employed Labourer

- 1) PD as an 'Employed Creative Labourer'
- 2) Internal conflicts and negotiations in the organisation for the quality of programme production
- 3) 'Making the best of the given conditions' vs 'Making every effort to shape better conditions'
- 4) Subjectivity in the selection process of the organisation
- 5) Official ranks in the organisation and your role as an acting PD
- 6) Seniority in the production process
- 7) The level of 'negotiated autonomy' of PDs
- 8) Ratings and creative autonomy
- 9) The negotiation limit of creative autonomy

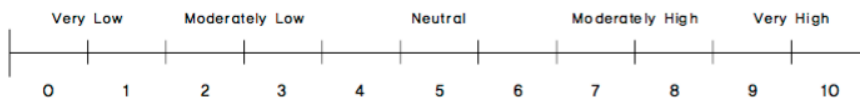
4. PD as a Professional

- 1) Is being a PD a profession?
- 2) What happens if the discretionary power of PD over the production process is approved?
- 3) Lack of independent training institutions for PDs and the organisation-based Doje system
- 4) The industrial value of 'well-trained' Main PDs who can utilise creative autonomy
- 5) Could the value of PDs be replaced with advanced market research tools, audience creativity and assertive audience participation?
- 6) Professionalism and Creativity
- 7) The possibility of PDs' professional society
- 8) Various backgrounds of PDs and the level of creative autonomy
- 9) Shared identity with Entertainment PDs in the Korean broadcasting industry

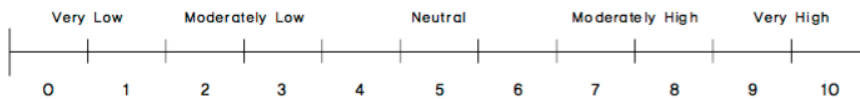
5. The level of Creative Autonomy

1) How would you score yourself as a Main PD for each type of autonomy? (0-10)

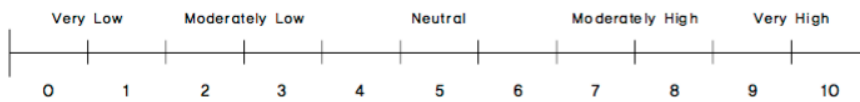
① Individual Autonomy



② Organisational Autonomy



③ Professional Autonomy



2) Which type of autonomy would you wish to increase the most?

3) Which do you think is the most important type of autonomy in the creative labour process?

- Thank you -

Appendix 3: A sample interview script

[Original – in Korean]

JL

30/06/2014 (16:00-17:30)
서울 광화문 일민미술관 카페

Q. 올해 연차는?

A. 13년정도 된것 같다

Q. 입봉은 언제?

A. 4년차 정도 됐을 때 부담스럽지 않은 스튜디오물을 하나 맡아서 입봉 했다.
<programme title>라고, ***씨가 나오는 인터랙티브 방송이었다. DMB로 실시간으로 계속 보면서 제작자와 커뮤니케이션하는 방송. 당시에는 새로운 시도였다. 재밌었는데 시청층이 워낙 좁아서 시청률의 의미가 그렇게 크지 않은 프로그램이어서 선배들이 맡겨줬고..그걸 하면서 재밌는 시도도 많이 해봤다. 벽찔던 프로그램이었다.

Q. 프로덕션에서 시작했나?

A. [an organisation]라는, 작가분이 만든 프로덕션이었고 *** 프로그램을 많이 했었는데 지금은 없어졌다. 방만한 경영과 중국진출로 힘들어하다가 없어졌다. 지금은 다들 프리랜서로 흩어졌다.

Q. 언제부터 피디가 되고싶었나?

A. 어릴 때부터 피디가 되고 싶었다..막연하게 드라마 피디가 되고 싶었다. ***피디의 <programme title>을 본 뒤로 그랬다. 예전에는 스타피디라고 기억할 사람은 없었던 것 같다. 피디는 방송사에 가려져 있었고, 구체적으로 어떻게 해야 피디가 된다는 걸 몰랐다. *** 피디를 보면서 피디라는 직업을 업으로 삼아야겠다는 생각을 했다.

Q. 일은 어떻게 시작했나?

A. 졸업했을 때 IMF타지고 힘든 상황이었는데 피디 시험 준비를 하고 있었다. 마침 아는 작가분이 있었는데 지금 상황이 좋지 않으니 일단 프로덕션에서 시작해보는게 어떻겠냐, 일단 해보면 적성에 맞는지 안맞는지 알게될거다. 일단 아르바이트식으로 일을 해보라고 권했다. 처음엔 작가를 권했는데 피디가 하고 싶다고 했다. 그냥 그렇게 시작했다. 작가분이 건너서 아는 지인이었다. 어떤 일을 하는지 많이 얘기해줬고, 굉장히 힘들고 못버틸수도 있다고 겁을 줬다. 아마 그 분은 내가 6개월정도 일 하면 식겁하고 그만두지 않을까 싶었던 것 같다.

Q. 막상 시작해보니?

A. 너무 힘들었다. 그 전에 공부도 하고 애들도 가르치고 하면서 삶에 여유가 없진 않았는데 방송 일 시작하니까 이게 내가 정말 원했던 일 맞나 싶을 정도로 지저분하고 뻑뻑했다. 인간 이하의 생활이었고 말 그대로 노동착취의 현장이었다. 근데 너무 힘들다보니까 그거에 대해 판단할 시간도 없이 시간이 흘러갔다. 그리고 그 전에 긴가민가하던 생각들이 점점 분명해졌

다. 막연하게 해보고 싶었던 일이고, 막상 해보면 잘할지 못할지 모르는거였는데..이상하게..내가 다른 일보다 이 일을 잘하는 것 같았다. 그래서 계속 해야겠다고 생각했다. 너무 힘들지만. 그래도 내가 다른 일보다는 지루하지 않고. 좋은 피드백도 많이 받고..그런게 좋았다. 마약처럼. 선배들로부터의 피드백이 좋았다. 선배들이 처음에는 엄청 굴리고 그랬었는데 그러다가 첫 예고편을 만들었는데 예상 외로 굉장히 큰 칭찬을 들었다. 그때 어떤 희열을 맛봤다. 그게 그 시절을 버티게 해줬던 것 같다.

요즘 후배들을 혼내다가도 아주 잘한 부분을 크게 칭찬해준다. 그런게 없으면 못버틴다. 더군다나 요즘 공채로 입사하는 친구들은 학벌도 좋고.웬만한 기업에 들어갈 수 있는 친구들이 대부분이다. 다들 말도 잘하고. 그 친구들을 보면 애네들 다른 기업에도 무난하게 들어갈 수 있을 것 같은데..싶다. 그래서 이 생활에 대한 사명감이 없으면 탈락하는 친구들도 많다. 일 좀 해보고 나면 자기는 이 일에 맞지 않는 것 같으면서 떠난다. 다른 직업에 비해서 연봉도 그리 좋지 않고 하나니까.

Q. 더럽다는건 무슨 의미죠?

A. 말 그대로 일 하는 환경이 더럽다. 사회의 부조리..뭐 그런 의미가 아니고. 잘 씻지도 못하고..숙직실도 열악하고. 성인 여자로서 버티기 힘든 환경이다. 그리고 선배들의 성질이 더러웠다.

Q. 그런걸 다 감내할만큼 그 일이 좋았나요?

A. 그래도 매력적이었다. 선배로부터의 피드백을 받을 때는 좋다는 느낌 정도가 아니라 굉장한 희열이었다. 며칠을 고민하면서 만든 것에 대해서 좋은 피드백을 받았을 때의 희열. 물론 일을 하다보면 좌절이 올 때도 있지만 계속 더 잘해보자는 생각을 했었다.

일을 하다보면 한번씩 고비가 온다. 3년차 때 한 번, 5년차때 한 번 왔었다. 이게 비전이 있을까 이걸 계속 해야될까...그런 생각을 하고, 또 했었죠. 근데 어릴때는 3년을 걸어왔으면 그 3년을 한게 너무 아까웠다. 그때는 아직 내가 아무것도 아니니까. 나를 몰아부쳤던 것 같고. 경력이 10년이 넘어가면...시청자들이..5-60 중장년층이 지배하고 있는데. 방송이 사양산업이라는 생각이 들기 시작한다. 그럼 이 일을 잘 할 수 있을까. 이 업계가 언제까지 갈 수 있을까..그런 생각은 끊이지 않는 것 같다.

그런데 은행에 다니면 그런 위기감이 오지 않을까? 그건 아닐 것 같다.

A. 그리고 이 직업 자체가 1주일마다 성적표를 받는 직업이니까. 시청률에 너무 쪼이니까. 그 성적표를 나만 보는게 아니라 모두가 보니까 창피하기도 하고.

잘했을 때도 불안하고 못했을 때도 불안하고, 계속 긴장되는 직업인 것 같다. 근데 계속 더 잘하고 싶다. 다음에는 이것보다 더. 다음 프로그램은 이것보다 더. 근데 그게 잘 안된다.

이건 늘 하는 얘인데.. 10년동안 생수배달을 했다면 나는 생수를 눈을 감고도 배달할 수 있을 것 같다. 근데 이 일은 그게 안되는 것 같아요. 달인이 못되는 거죠. 그게 되게 힘든 것 같아요. 물리적으로 힘든게 아니라 마음이 힘든거죠. 20년간 해도 장인이 되거나 할 수 없죠. 그

런 불확실성이나 불투명함. 그런게 사람을 굉장히 힘들게 하죠. 늘 나오는 성적표가 사람을 쪼이게 하고.

Q. 일에 있어서 시청률의 의미는?

A. 시청률 지상주의로 판단하고 싶지 않지만, 그렇게 될수밖에 없다. 시청률이 잘 나와도 해가되는 프로그램이 있긴 하다. 그럼 내려야되는데 그게 어렵다. 시청률이 안나와도 좋은 프로그램은 계속 가야되는데, 그런 경우를 지금까지 본 적이 없다. [a broadcaster]에서 하는 공익 프로그램 외에는 그런 프로그램을 할 수가 없는 환경이다. 시청률이 안좋으면 공익에 부합하는 프로그램, 완성도 있는 프로그램도 계속 갈 수가 없다.

피디라는 직업 자체가 상업방송 만드는 사람이기때문에. 시청률이 모든 것은 아니지만 어쨌든 단가를 결정짓는 주요 요인이기때문에 그걸 무시할 수 있는 방송사는 아무데도 없어요.

Q. 시청률이 잘 나올 때 가장 만족감이 크가요?

A. 그렇습니다.

Q. 어떤 느낌의 만족감인가요?

A. 그거에 대해서 복잡하게 2차적인 생각까지 할 수 있는 피디는 많이 없을 것 같다. 피디들은 단순한 사람들이다. 자기 틀 속에서 세상을 보는 사람들이고, 일을 하면서 향후 5년이나 10년을 생각하는 사람들은 별로 없다고 본다.

그냥 시청률이 잘 나오면, 나쁘지 않게 만들었구나 하는 생각.

그리고 다 합해서 70명 정도의 스태프들이 다 같이 하는 일이기때문에..다 좋은거죠 그 사람들이.

우리가 나쁘지 않게 판단을 했구나..하는 느낌.

그리고 시청률이 안나오는데, 완성도가 높은 프로그램이 있느냐..

적어도 예능에서..시청률이 전혀 안나오는데 완성도 있는 프로그램이 있나하는 생각이 든다. 사실 그건 너무 일방적이지 않나. 프로그램은 어차피 누군가 가르치려고 해서도 안되고 소통하는건데, 시청률이 안나온다면 공감능력이 부족한거 아닌가 한다. 그리고 예를 들어서 [a broadcaster] 같은 곳에서 방영하는 다큐프로도 미세하지만 사람들이 다 안다. 좋은 프로그램은 시청률이 높다. 혹은 상을 준다. 어떤 피드백이든 오게 되어 있다. 나 혼자 보려고 만드는 게 아니고, 가족들 보라고 만드는 것도 아니고, 대중을 위해서 만드는 프로그램이지 않나. 그 지표를 무시할 수는 없다.

Q. 일을 하면서 가장 행복했던 기억?

A. 시청률하고 또 다른 애긴데. 지금 [programme title] 하고 있는데. 2년반이 넘었다. 이게 초창기에, 그분들 인권에 대한 부분을 많이 다루고 시간을 많이 할애했었다. 방송하면서 게시판에서 칭찬 받아본 적이 사실 별로 없는데, 왜냐면 게시판이 시끄러운 건 그 프로그램이 인기있다는 반증이기도 하지만 거의 부정적인 의견이 올라오기 마련이다. 그런데 이상하게 초창

기에 (요즘은 거의 부정적이라 거의 안보지만)는 좋은 의견이 많았다. 많이 공감해주시고, 프로그램을 보고 힘을 얻었다는 뜻밖의 피드백을 받았을 때 감동적이었다. 이렇게 봐주시는 분들이 있구나.. 그때가 사실 제일 보람됐다.

지금까지 예능프로그램을 하면서 <programme title>같은거 할 때, 방송이 이렇게 사람들의 악한 모습을 조명해야되는가 하는 생각을 많이 했었는데. 지금 하는 프로그램은 방송을 통해서 앞으로 삶 속에서 지향해야 할 지점을 찾는 것 같다는 생각을 했다. 그때가 가장 보람됐었다. 그리고 탈북자분들이 프로그램 나와서 취업이 됐다든가, 좋은 남자 만나서 결혼을 했다든가하면 부럽기도 하고. 참 잘됐다.보람이 있다..그런 생각을 한다.

Q. 경력이 늘어날수록 어떤 변화가 있나?

A. 창의력은 줄어드는 것 같고, 그걸 메이킹하는 실력은 늘어나는 것 같다. 후배들한테 늘 하는 얘기가..적어도 니 아이디어가 구현되려면 적어도 3년의 경력이 필요하다고 말한다. 3년이 되기 전에 어떤 아이디어를 내 놓으면, 그게 아무리 좋은 아이디어라도 그걸 구현할 수 있는 경우가 드물다. 영글지 않은 아이디어. 앞뒤 생각 못하는 아이디어일 확률이 높다.

대략 3년이 지나면, 어떤 생각이 떠올랐을 때는 아이디어를 떠올렸을 때 그 아이디어를 심화시킬 수 있는 것까지 연동해서 생각할 수 있다. 이게 안될 것 같으면 대안도 제시할 수 있고. 경력 3-5년까지는 그런 아이디어가 무한히 샘솟는 때인것 같다. 머리를 감다가도 문득문득 아이디어가 떠오른다. 한참 신나서 일하는 때다.

경력 5-7년 사이는 그걸 열심히 구현해내는 시간인 것 같다. 그 이후에 요구되는 건 창의력보다는 통합의 능력인 것 같다. 나보다 아이디어가 더 좋은 사람은 무한히 더 많은데, 회의를 할 때 16명정도가 회의를 하는데..내가 회의를 주제를 하면, 다른 사람들이 말을 잘 할 수 있는 분위기를 내가 만들어주지 않으면 사람들이 말을 안한다. 내가 너무 많은 말을 해도 사람들이 말을 안한다. 다른 사람들이 말을 많이 할 수 있게 자리를 만들어주고. 마지막에 역으로 제안을 한다..난 그게 좋은 것 같다. 내가 유연한가 유연하지 않은가..하는게 더 중요하다는 생각을 많이 한다.

Q. 피디가 다른 직업에 비해 자유롭다고 생각하나?

A. 굉장히 자유롭죠. 물리적으로는 굉장히 자유롭다고 생각한다. 정신적으로는 전혀 아니죠. 주말에 보통 회사원들은 어떨지 모르겠지만..그들도 주말에 고민하겠죠? 그러면 뭐 다 비슷하겠지요.

방송업도 참 좋아져서..요즘은 주5일근무를 웬만하면 지켜요. 편집에 들어가거나 프로그램 런칭할 땐 안되지만. 물론 신참들은 못지키죠. 그래도 어느정도 안정기에 들어가면 주5일근무 지키려고 하죠. 그렇게 집에 있어도 편히 못쉬는 것 같아요. 티비를 틀면 모니터 하게되죠. 그거 되게 피곤한 것 같아요. 방송을 편하게 못본다는 것. 다른 피디가 너무 잘 만들었으면 부럽고, 또 너무 못만들었으면 화가 나고. 가족들이 내가 만든거 아닌 프로그램 즐겁게보면 괜히 의기소침해지고...(웃음)

의식적으로 티비를 안보려고 했을 때도 있었다. 한때 모든게 재미없어졌을 때가 있었다. 한참 몸이 너무 바빴을 때, 밤새고 편집하고 이럴 때. 피디가 많은 걸 보고, 통합적으로 판단을 해야하는데 사실 현실은 그렇지 못할 때가 많다. 편집실-식당-집에 갇혀서 뉴스도 못보고 지낼 때가 더 많다. 그때는 판거 보기도 싫어진다. 내가 하는 프로그램을 완성본을 10번은 보게 되는데. 그리고 나면 이제는 모든 감이 없어지고 무덤덤해지고. 아무 판단이 안되면서 다른 영상물은 보기도 싫은 지경에 이른다.

근데 요즘은 굉장히 많이 본다. 의식적으로 보려고 한다. 매체가 너무 많이 늘어나서 그렇게 하지 않으면 기획할 때나 피티를 준비할 때나 문제가 된다. 어차피 봐야되니까. 집에 있을 때 의식적으로 본다...옛날보다는 즐겁게 보려고 한다.

요즘은 종편을 주로 보고..예전에 스토리온에 있을 때는 미국프로그램같은거 많이 봤고. 요즘은 미국.유럽 프로그램 전혀 안본다.

Q. 피디로서의 성취감이 곧 삶의 성취감이라고 느끼나?

A. 그랬었다. 난 아직 결혼을 안했는데, 작년쯤에 내 인생에서 피디를 빼고나면 뭐가 남지? 라는 생각이 들어서 반성을 많이 했다. 그럼에도 불구하고 가장 성취감을 느끼는 건 일을 통해서인 것 같다.

일과 나를 분리하고 싶지만 분리가 안된다. 일에서 성취감이 오면 기쁘고, 안되면 다운된다. 분리가 안된다. 근데 언젠가 분리가 될 시점이 오겠쥬. 근데 이건 별로 고민할 필요는 없는 것 같다. 너무 일만해서, 논다는게 피디 동료들이랑 술먹는게 다였다. 2-30대 중후반을 채운게 다 일이었으니까, 이젠 허전하고 고독한 느낌도 든다. 일이 없으면 난 어떻게 될까...막연한 두려움이 밀려온다. 작년에 그런 생각 많이 했던 것 같다.

Q. 자신이 창작자라고 생각하나, 노동자라고 생각하나?

A. 창작자에 가깝다고 생각해야쥬. 누군가 무언가를 주어진 시간에 반드시 해야된다고 지시하지 않는다. 업무 행태가 일단 그렇고, 이 업 자체가, 예를 들어서 [a broadcaster] 다닐 때는 PPL이 들어와서 반드시 해야된다든지, 그런 외부적 압력이 있었다. 그런거 할 때는 굉장히 자괴감이 밀려왔다. 왜 시청자들이 70분동안 광고를 봐야될까하는 생각. 그런데 이쪽에서는 그런 프로그램이 아직은 없다. 그런 오더도 없고, 압박도 없다. 물론 내가 하고 싶은데 지원이 안되거나 그럴 순 있쥬. 근데 아까 말씀드린 것처럼 아침 몇시까지 나와서 언제까지 끝마쳐야 되고 성과를 내고, 그런건 없으니까 나를 노동자라고 생각하진 않는다.

Q. 주어진 환경에서 최선을 다하는 편인가요, 아니면 주어진 환경을 바꿀려고 하는 편인가요?

A. 주어진 환경에 무조건 맞추려고 하진 않는다. A를 무조건 해야되는데 어떤 외부적 조건때문에 A를 못한다면 뒷사람을 설득하고 조건을 바꾼다. 예를 들어서, 7000만원이 무조건 들어가야 되는 프로그램인데 위에서 6천만원밖에 안주면, 천만원을 더 받아내기위한 카드를 제시한다. 물론 좌절될 때도 많지만, 그 전에 반드시 6천만원에 반드시 맞춰서 하려고 하진 않았

다. 그래서 윗분들이 절 별로 안 좋아하시죠.

Q. 그런 협상은 어디까지 가능한가?

현재 예산권 외에는 대부분의 재량권을 내가 가지고 있다고 볼 수 있다. 근데 이건 조직에 따라 다르다. 외주제작사의 경우에는 재량권이 없다. 본사에서 프로듀싱을 얼마나 인볼브하냐에 따라 다를 수 있고. [a broadcaster]같은 경우는 마케팅 중심의 회사여서 돈과 관련해서 속이고 들어가야 되는 상황이 많았어요. 제작에 있어서. 돈을 쥐고 있는 쪽이 돈을 벌어드는 쪽이니까. 경영진이 아니라 돈을 벌어드는 쪽에서 '너희들은 왜 이렇게 돈을 많이 쓰니? 우리가 벌어들인 걸 효율적으로 썼으면 좋겠다'식의 얘길 한다. 돈의 논리로 결국 조직 내에서 콘텐츠를 만드는 사람들이 힘을 잃는다. 물론 '컨텐츠가 없으면 뭘로 싸울건데' 하면서 그들을 설득해야 되는데, 돈이 목전에 있으면 받아들이기 수박에 없다. [a broadcaster]가 좀 그런식이었고, 지금 우리 회사는 그렇게 돈을 벌지도 못하고 순익구조를 발견하지 못해서...오히려 더 자유로운 그런 건 있어요.

Q. 일을 하면서 절대 이런 타협할 수 없다는게 있다면?

A. 나 같은 경우는 시청률을 내기 위해서 기획의도에 반하는 구성물을 안하는게 제작 원칙이라면 원칙이다. 갑자기 시청률을 올리기 위해서 저건 뭐지. 저건 왜 들어갔지..같은 응급처치같은 걸 하지 않아야겠다는 생각을 한다. 그런걸해서 프로그램을 연명시킬 수 없다.

Q. 그런 원칙은 언제 생겼나?

작년에 어떤 프로그램 하나를 실패하면서 깊은 깨달음을 얻었다. 기획의 원칙같은거. 오더로..시청률을 내게 하라는 특명이 있었다. 무조건. 그리고 타 프로그램에서 이런이런것들을 하니까, 우리는 이 모든 걸 담을 수 있는 큰 그릇을 만들어라.가 특명이었다. 두달동안 기획을 했는데 프로그램이 안나왔다. 아이템은 나오는데 프로그램 컨셉이 안나왔다. 역시나 그 결과도 좋지 않았다. 처음에 반짝하다가, 종잡을 수 없는 프로그램이 되어버렸다. 시청률도 좋다가 나뻐다가. 아이템 하나에 혹하고 와서 봤는데, 굳이 보니까 또 불필요가 없는 프로그램이고. 맛집이 아니라, 점심 3900원에 드려요...그런 집이 된거죠. 시청률도 너무 들쭉날쭉해서..7개월쯤 하다가 접기로 했죠. 그리고 그때 느꼈던 것들을 쭉 썼는데..10개정도. 거기에 그런걸 썼어요. 한줄로 떨어지는 기획. 누구에게나 한줄로 설명하면 되는 기획. 중간에 응급처치를 하지 않는..프로그램.

그 글의 제목이 '실패한 뒤에 비로소 보이는 것들'이었다. 참 실패를 잘했구나 싶었다. 수없이 실패를 했지만..예전엔 너무 어려서 안보였던 것 같다. 이제는 보인다. 피디는 또 실패를 하면 여러 사람들이 연루되어 있어서 정말 미안하다..그래서 이번에는 참 실패를 잘했다고 생각했었다는게 골자였다.

Q. 피디가 전문직이라고 생각하는가?

A. 기술이 있으니까 전문직이라고 생각한다. 다른 회사에서도 어떤 제품을 만드는 부서가 있

을텐데, 그런 직업이랑 비슷하다고 본다. 근데 피디는 직접 다 만들 수 있는 기술들을 어느정도 다 습득하고 있으니까 전문직이라고 생각한다.

Q. 피디가 기술직에 가깝다고 생각하는 건가?

A. 기술직을 겸비해야만 되는 전문직이 아닐까?

Q. 언제쯤 전문직의 반열에?

A. 개인차가 있겠지만, 나는 8년 정도라고 생각한다.

Q. 8년이 지나면 어떻게 갖춰지나?

A. 대부분의 기술적 부분을 직접 체험해보는 시기이기도 하고, 피디가 해야하는 일들이 한꺼번에 다 배울 수 없는거라서, 여러 프로그램들을 경험하면서, 야외물, 스튜디오물...다 두루두루 경험해볼 수 있어야 된다. 8년쯤 되면 그래도 겁은 안나는 것 같다..뭘 맡겨도, 어떤 형식의 프로그램이든 제작이 가능한. 웰메이드가 되든 아니든 상관없이, 내가 일을 맡았을 때 겁나지 않는 정도가 된다.

Q. 잘 훈련된 피디 인력의 산업적가치?

A. 어떻게 산업적가치로 환산하라는 건지 잘 모르겠다.

Q. 콘텐츠가 점점 더 많이 필요해지는데, 산업 발전 속에서..잘 훈련된 피디의 존재가 중요한가?

A. 중요하다고 생각한다. 피디는 돈을 받고 어떤 물건을 찍어내는 사람이 아니다. 어떤 물건을 찍어내면, 그게 돈이 될 수 있는 사람이라고 생각한다. 근데 요즘은 돈을 주면 찍는 사람으로 많이 바뀌었다. 근데 그렇게 해서 우리가 뭘 만들어낼 수 있을까.

돈에 맞춰서, 어떤 니즈에 맞춰서 제한된 타겟과 조건 안에서 어떤 프로그램을 재단하듯이 만들어낸다고 해도 성공할 가능성은 그렇지 않을 경우와 비교했을 때 비슷할거라고 본다.

종편은 주 시청층이 중장년층이다. [a broadcaster]에서 [programme title]이라는 프로그램을 만든다. 처음에 다 비웃었다..저게 되겠냐고. 근데 됐다. 기존의 조건은 한 순간에 무력화되는 것 같다.

[a channel]은 2-30대가 보는 채널인데 할아버지들이 여행가는 프로그램을 만들었다. 근데 이제 어른들이 [a channel]을 본다. 조건이 만드는 콘텐츠는 힘이 없다. 8년차 이상되는 피디들의 가치라..그들은 어떻게든 파워를 가질 수 있는 콘텐츠를 만들어낼 수 있는 가능성이 있는 사람들이다.

Q. 피디는 타고나는걸까 훈련되는 걸까?

A. 반반인 것 같다. 분명 타고나야 되는 게 있다. 근데 훈련되는 것도 만만치않게 중요하다.

Q. 피디의 단체행동은 거의 전무한데, 왜 그렇다고 생각하나?

A. 고용형태의 문제다. 피디는 회사원이다. 누가 인기있는 프로그램을 만들어서 회사가 수십 억을 벌어도, 피디한테 저작권이 돌아가진 않지만 순응하는 거다. 그러다가 너무 판이 커지면 회사를 나오겠쥬. 거액의 스카우트 비용을 받고, [programme title]정도의 프로그램이면 저작권을 주장할 수도 있겠지만, 그 사람도 회사원이니까 요구할 수 없고. 아마 성과급을 받겠쥬. 독립피디연합이 있는데 힘이 없어요. 힘 있는 피디들은 다 방송사 소속이거든요.

Q. 그런 협회의 필요성을 느낀적은 없나?

A. 너무 많다. 작가들이 재방료 챙길 때 배 아프다. 어디가서 내 이름으로 상받아도 회사에 다 놔두고 와야 되니까..좀 억울하다. 근데 회사가 없으면 그런 프로그램을 할 수도 없는거니까. 방송은 개인으로 할 수 있는 게 아니잖아요. 프리랜서들은 누구나 얻는게 있으면 잃는게 있고. 프리랜서같은 경우..맨날 노트북 들고 다니면서 영업해야되고, 반면 피디들은 기획한다고 어디 짹박혀 있어도 월급 나오거든요. 말하자면..그런거쥬. 그게 필요하면 나가서 프리랜서 하면 되고..그 프리랜서들이 힘이 생기면 협회를 만들겠쥬. 드라마쪽은 그런게 있겠쥬. 잘나가는 피디들은 다 제작사에 있으니까.

Q. 만약, 저작권을 인정받는다면?

A. 작가들을 보면 알 수 있는데. 예를 들어서, 지금도 인센티브 제도가 있다. 시청률이 몇프로를 넘으면 얼마를 주고 그런게 있다. 피디들은 안주지만. 근데 그렇다고 피디들이 일을 더 하고 덜 하나..특별히 그렇진 않다.

시청률 4프로 넘으면 팀 전체에 700만원정도 주는데, 그 돈으로 엠티를 갔다 온다든지 회식을 한다든지...뭔가 크게 다르진 않지만 으쌰으쌰하는 분위기는 만들어진다. 하지만 저작권때문에 변화를 피해야겠단지, 더 잘해봐야겠단지. 그런게 있을까요? 전 모르겠어요. 지금도 저작권은 없지만, 매번 방송을 만드는데 회사 일이라고 생각하면서 하는 피디들은 없을거예요. 어차피 프로그램이라는 건 개인에게 명예를 해치는 일이 될 수도 있고..명예롭게 만들어 줄 수 있는 일인걸 알고 있어요. 그래서 나는 저작권이랑은 크게 상관 없는 것 같다. 잘되면 물론 좋은 거지만. 내가 재방료를 더 받아야된다고 생각하고..뭐 그런건 아닌 것 같다. 작가들은 저작권 뿐만이 아니라 그 자체가 생계의 문제다. 이 프로가 없어지면 생계가 없어지는거니까.

Q. 회사가 나를필요로 하는가? 내가 회사를 필요로 하는가?

A. 서로가 서로를 필요로 한다. 지금은 그렇다. 근데 언젠가는 이 회사가 나한테 필요없어질 거고, 회사도 마찬가지일거다. 나는 콘텐츠를 만드는 사람이고, 이 회사가 내 끝이 아니라는 걸 알고 있다. 어떤 회사에 정착하고 싶다는 생각도 있지만. 그것보다는 어떤 프로그램을 만드느냐가 더 중요해진다.

만약에 이 회사가 더 이상 제작을 하지 않고 프로듀싱만 하겠다고 한다면 (그건 언제나 가능한 일이다). 그럼 내가 직무를 바꿀건지, 다른 회사로 갈건가를 결정해야되는데, 지금 생각으로는 회사를 바꿀거다. 제작을 할 수 있는 곳으로 옮기겠지. 그런 생각은 항상 하고 있다. 회사가 주는 의미가 지금은 피디들한테 그렇게 크지 않다. 회사가 계속 필요로 하는 사람이 되야쥬. 열심히 한다. 안될 때가 있을 뿐.

Q. 착취당하는 창조 노동자의 이미지?

A. 당연히 그렇게 보일 수 있다. 예를 들어서, 내가 컵 안에 담겨 있는 물이 무슨 생각을 하는지 모르는데, 나는 그 물이 내가 먹기 위해서 있는 거라고 생각하지 않냐. 근데 물은 모르죠. 물은 어떤 입장인지. 밖에서 보는 거랑 안에서 보는 거랑은 당연히 다르다. 아무것도 모르는 일반인들은 화려한 직업으로 생각할테고, 연봉이 아주 높은 다른 업계에서 볼 때는 '왜 저렇게 피곤하게 살지'할 수도 있고, 내 삶을 살고 있는 사람으로써, 내가 나를 보는 게 중요한 것 같다.

물론 그런 측면이 있다. 착취당하는 노동자의 측면. 아까 말씀드렸듯이 일하는 환경이 더럽고, 그 더러운 길을 걸어온 시간이 아까워서 그냥 갈 수밖에 없는 시간들이 분명히 있다. 내가 아직 미완이고, 언제까지 피디를 할 수 있을지 모르겠지만 그래도 걸어온 길이 10년이 넘다보니, 지금 생각으로는 여기까지 잘 왔다 싶다. 지금은 그냥 어떻게 하면 좀 더 이 일을 행복하게 느끼면서 할 수 있을까. 요즘 들어서 내가 가장 많이 하는 생각이다. 나라는 작은 사람 안에 포함될 수 있는 사람들이 다 행복하게 일했으면 좋겠고, 내 자신도 그랬으면 좋겠고. 전파 낭비하지 않는 프로그램을 만들고 싶다..그런 생각을 한다.

[Translated in English]

JL

30/06/2014 (16:00-17:30)

Ilmin Gallery Café, Gwanghwamoon, Seoul

Q. How long have you been working as a PD?

A. About 13 years so far.

Q. When did you debut (Ip-bong) as a Main PD for the first time?

A. When I had spent about 4 years as an AD, I was able to debut my own programme, which was a studio-based entertainment show. The title was [the programme], and the programme was a kind of interactive concept that allowed audiences to communicate live via DMB. It was quite a new attempt, but the size of the audience was small. Since the programme was not that influential, my seniors let me produce the programme as a Main PD. It was a good opportunity for me.

Q. Did you start your career at an independent production company?

A. Yes. The name of company was '[company title]', and the owner was a previous writer. We produced many programmes for [a terrestrial broadcaster], but now the company is closed due to bad management and impractical expansion into China. For now, most employees are working as freelancers.

Q. From when did you want to be a PD?

A. From childhood. I vaguely wanted to be a drama PD, after watching [a programme] of [a drama PD] when I was young. Before the programme, there was not such a thing as a star PD. Until then, the role was not recognisable, but [a drama PD] changed the atmosphere. I admired him very much, and I decided to become a PD.

Q. How did you start your career?

A. When I graduated from university, I was suffering from hard economic times. When I was preparing for the recruitment test for broadcasters, one of writers around me suggested to start working at an independent

production company, rather than spending a long time preparing for the official test. She said I would be able to judge whether the job suited my characteristics or not, once I started to work. She suggested that I work as a writer, but I wanted to be a PD. It started just like that. I assume that the writer expected me to quit the job in 6 months, after experiencing the intense workload.

Q. How was the work?

A. It was really hard. Before starting the career, my life was quite nice and relaxed, teaching students and studying for myself. After starting the PD job, it was really dirty and intense, and I even doubted myself whether I wanted this job seriously. At first, I was swamped with a workload that was too heavy. But one day, they offered me a chance to make a short trailer. After editing it, their feedback was much better than my expectation. That thrilling moment, like ecstasy...it was my main driving force. I can't forget the moment.

Because of these memories, these days I try to praise my junior PDs when they do a good job. If not, they would not be able to remain in this field. Recently, the recruitment competitiveness for PDs have become very high, and most PDs would be able to enter into more privileged career fields where it is less intense. If they do not have a kind of intrinsic motivation, they will not carry on because the level of payment is not that high compared to other jobs.

Q. What does 'dirty' mean in this context?

A. Literally the working environment was dirty. It was not about social irregularities...the working process was literally dirty...I couldn't wash properly during the production process, and we didn't have a proper night-duty room for women employees. And also, my seniors' characters were dirty.

Q. Did you like the job role that much to endure these bad aspects?

A. It was still attractive. I loved to receive good feedback from my seniors. It was actually a great pleasure. If I received praise from senior PDs when I showed them my edited video clip, on which I had spent a long time, such pleasure could not easily be compared to other things. Such moments were the driving force to continue the harsh life.

From time to time, I came to have depressed feelings about my career. I think I had two critical moments, when I had been in this career for 3 years, and then 5 years. At those times, I was not sure that it would be a good idea to stay in this career...But I didn't want to give up easily, because I thought I would have an opportunity to make

my things someday. I didn't want to lose such a chance...

And for now, I'm worried about the future of this industry itself, because the broadcasting market is declining. So I think...when will I be able to do this job until? However, I think this is not only about the PD job. Probably bankers would be worried with similar perceptions.

This PD job..is a job that feels like receiving a kind of report card of ratings every week. We are too stressed out with ratings, and it is embarrassing that everybody watches my 'grades'. I feel anxious whether I receive a good result or not. But the thing is...I want to be better for the next time, always.

Q. What does 'ratings' mean to you?

A. I don't want to judge a programme only with the degree of ratings, but it is an inevitable reality in this industry. Sometimes, I think a programme is really good, except the low ratings. It would be great if we could carry on such programme productions, but it is hard. If the ratings are not favourable, we cannot continue the programme production.

The PD role itself is all about making a commercial television programme. So we cannot ignore the importance of ratings. Nobody could overlook it.

Q. Do you get the greatest feeling of satisfaction when your programme achieves a good ratings figure?

A. Absolutely.

Q. Can you elaborate on the feeling of such satisfaction in more detail?

A. Well, I think typical PDs would not have a complex thinking process towards the level of ratings. We are very simple. We have our own frame with which to read this world, and most PDs would not link the rating results to their future career—we just think like.. 'we made it quite well'. And it must be a result of the collaborative work with more than 70 staff, so I would be happy as a leader of the production team.

Also, I don't think there is a good entertainment programme with low ratings...Above all, a television programme is made for public viewers, not for my family or myself. Especially, it could be said that entertainment shows are made solely for the market itself. If a programme doesn't create any meaningful ratings figures, I think it is not worth talking about the quality of the programme itself. We PDs should communicate with audiences through a

programme, and if there is a good point in the programme, there should be good feedback. Even a few documentary programmes achieve good ratings scores, so entertainment shows must surely also do so?

Q. When was your happiest moment in your career?

A. Apart from ratings...probably when I just started [a programme] about two years ago. I dealt with many stories about human rights in my programme. Before then, I think I hadn't had many opportunities to receive praise from audiences, but with this programme, our Internet bulletin board of the programme was full of good reviews from viewers. It was also touching when I heard that a member of our cast found a good job role after the programme, or got married to a great man. It feels really great.

Q. Do you experience any changes as your career develops?

A. Well, I think the level of creativity is decreasing, and the ability to make a programme is growing. I always say to my junior PDs that they should invest at least 3 years before they have the proper capacity to make a programme as a lead PD. Before then, in most cases, their ideas are not realistic. After about 3 years, most PDs have the capacity to actualise their own ideas into a programme. From then, the work becomes really enjoyable, and PDs' ideas are exploding. We even think about our programme when taking a shower.

After about 5 to 7 years, we are required to have the ability to manage everything in a programme, rather than to merely be creative. From then, we can feel that other younger PDs have more bright ideas during meetings. Then my role is to enable them to express it confidently. I should encourage them as a team leader, and should be able to shape their immature ideas into a doable concept. To do this, I should have a flexible attitude, rather than being arrogant.

Q. Do you think the PD role is autonomous compared to other jobs?

A. Very much. Physically, yes, we are very autonomous. Mentally? I don't think so. I don't know how typical workers spend their weekends, but...these days, the working conditions of PDs are quite okay, so in most cases, we can take a rest during the weekends. But even at home, we can't take a rest. When we turn on the television, we automatically assess other programmes. This is really tiring—we can't be relaxed watching television. If a programme is too good, I feel jealous, and if a programme is awful, I get angry. Also, if my family members watch a programme that I didn't produce, I feel somewhat sad...(laughs).

Actually, PDs should experience many things and should know how to manage various facts and elements into a

programme. But the reality is different. Since we are too busy, we often do not have time to check breaking news. During editing, we normally watch our programme at least 10 times—after the programme is on air, we are too exhausted to get other experiences from outside. We don't want to see any video content at that time.

But these days, I intentionally try to watch as many other programmes as possible, as I'm the leader of my team, who should design a new programme, arrange team meetings, and idea presentations...so I try to enjoy watching television at home...because it is my job. Recently, I mainly watch CPC channels, and do not view American or European programmes, which I frequently watched in the past.

Q. Do you feel your achievement as a PD is the achievement of your entire life?

A. I did. Last year, I wondered what would remain in my life if I removed everything related to my job. Nevertheless, I'm still finding the greatest enjoyment in my life from work. Sometimes I'd like to separate my life from work, but I know I would not be able to do so. I spent most of time in my 20s and 30s with work, and now most of my friends are also working in this field. It is just so natural for now.

Q. How do you understand yourself as a PD—an employed labourer or a creator?

A. It should be much closer to creator. Our roles are not something that should be done in several hours. Of course, it varies according to each organisational ethos. For example, when I was in [a broadcaster], I had many pressures from above to make a programme with unwanted PPL. I really hated that situation—why should audiences watch a 70-minute-long advertisement?

But in the current organisation, we don't have many orders like that...no pressures as well. Of course, I could suffer from the lack of support...but at least, we don't have pressure to come to the office at a fixed time, or to attain a certain achievement by a fixed date. So, I don't think my job is a kind of labourer.

Q. Are you doing your best within the given environment? Or are you doing your best to change the given conditions?

A. Well, I do not always conform myself to the given circumstance. If I think I should do A, and a certain external condition interrupts it, I try my best to persuade people above me in the organisation. For example, if a programme budget should be more than 70 million Korean won to meet my own standards, and the organisation just arranged 60 million, I do everything possible to get 10 million from above. Of course, it is not always successful, but I always try to overcome the obstacles. That's why the administration team does not like me.

Q. To what extent do you have discretionary rights over your production process?

A. Except budget appropriation, I think I hold most discretionary rights. But it varies according to each organisational environment. In terms of [a broadcaster], since the company was more like a marketing company than a content producing organisation, we didn't have many rights during productions. The attitude of the marketing team was like... 'Why are you guys spending all the money that we earned?' And also, 'Please use the money more efficiently'. If an organisation only follows the logic of money, we PDs do not have any power in the organisation. Of course, we should ask, 'If we do not make television content, what will you sell in the market?' and fight with them...but if money matters, we can't do that. [A broadcaster] had such an attitude...but for now, [my current organisation] is not that good at earning money, so ironically, we PDs are in a quite relaxed environment...and autonomous.

Q. Could you tell me if you have something that cannot be compromised under any circumstances?

A. Well, not to make a programme by merely following trends to instantly raise the degree of ratings? It is my own principle that I always try to maintain.

Q. When did you make such a principle of programme production?

A. In the last year, I had to make a programme based on a special command from the organisation—'raise the viewership ratings, no questions asked'. In addition, the content analysis department ordered me to inject several trendy concepts into the programme. I spent almost two months making an integrated concept for the requested programme, but it was not easy at all. Actually, it was relatively straightforward to think up sub-items for the show, but I had many difficulties in constructing the whole concept of the programme itself. In the end, the programme failed. Initially, due to some trendy items within the show, ratings figures went up to a certain degree—but as the series went on, the programme failed to build a concrete identity. It became something that you could see in any other programme, which meant that audiences didn't have any reason to watch our programme specifically... After an unstable period, the programme eventually ended with poor ratings.

After experiencing that failure, I listed several principles for my future programmes, and that principle was the main agenda. I felt that the failure was not worth my PD career.

Q. Do you think a PD is a professional?

A. Yes, because we deal with technologies. Probably in any occupational field, there would be a production team to make a product...I think we PDs are similar to them. But the distinctive aspect of PD might be that we should

acquire most needed technologies to make a programme, not just a special single one.

Q. Which means that...the PD role is similar to a technician?

A. Well, a PD should be able to be a technician, to be professionalised.

Q. When do PDs become sufficiently professionalised in your field?

A. There are individual differences, but I think at least 8 years are needed to become professionalised.

Q. After 8 years, what kind of capacities are developed?

A. The entertainment genre is divided into various concepts, such as location filming or studio-based programmes...and each concept uses different technological approaches. PDs need to experience each concept to have the confidence to make any type of programme in the future as a Main PD.

Q. How would you assess the value of professional PD labourers in the industry?

A. I'm not sure how to calculate the value of manpower into money.

Q. Well, the television industry needs more content than before—in this situation, do you think it is significant to maintain and develop the group of well-professionalised PDs in the industry?

A. Of course it is important. We are not the kind of people who merely make products following given manuals. We first produce a programme, and people make money from it. We come first. A programme that is produced by following a given target and conditions is different to a programme that is designed by PDs' ideas.

For instance, most CPC channels are perceived as a channel for the old. But [a broadcaster] made [a programme] for people in their 20s and 30s. At first, many people laughed at the attempt—but now? That channel expanded its audience range to those in their 20s and 30s. Also, [a channel] was initially designed mainly for people in their 20s and 30s. But it made a travel programme with old actors—and now? The elderly people watch the channel. A programme that is based on a fixed condition and prejudice does not have power in the market anymore. And we PDs, who are sufficiently professionalised with more than 8 years' career experience, have the power to make something from nothing.

Q. Do you think a good PD is naturally born, or nurtured in an organisation?

A. Half and half I would say. There should be something that a PD naturally has in their mind, but a proper

training process is also very important.

Q. It is hard to achieve copyright of a programme as a Main PD in Korea. How do you think about this tendency?

A. Well, it's a matter of the employment type. As you know, most PDs are an employed labourer. We know that PDs would not be able to take the copyright of their own creation, even if their programmes make billions in profit. Probably we should be satisfied with a few incentives. But we know we need to follow this, because in Korea, powerful entertainment show PDs all belong to a broadcasting organisation. Although there is KIPDA, it is powerless.

Q. Have you felt a need to establish an institutional body for PDs, which could fight for the copyright?

Many times! To be honest, when writers receive royalties for re-airing, I feel jealous. Not only copyrights, but if we receive a television programme award, we should give it to the organisation. It feels bad, actually. Every time I feel it, I think we PDs also need such an association for PDs' copyrights...but you know, without a broadcasting organisation, we cannot continue this work.

Q. What if you are granted to have copyright of your programme? Would there be a significant change in your working life?

A. I don't think anything would particularly change with copyright. Probably not a single PD would think their work is solely for their company, even though they do not receive any copyright. Also, if considering the case of writers, actually the amount of royalties is not great enough to cover living expenses. While we receive stable income as an employee, for writers, the copyright rewards are a matter of making a living.

Q. Does your organisation need you, or do you need your organisation for your career?

A. It should be both. At least for now, I think my company needs me. But probably, this organisation would not need me anymore someday, and vice versa. I'm a person who produces content, and I know this company may not be my last workplace in my career. Of course, I want to enjoy a stable life within an organisational boundary, but it is more important that I can make the kind of programme I want to produce in the given circumstance.

For example, if my current employer decided not to produce original programmes anymore, I would leave here—probably to somewhere that I could make such a programme. The title of the organisation is not that important—of course, I do my best to be a PD that the company needs to retain, although it is not always successful.

Q. Since many PDs personally enjoy their work very much, there are some views that the broadcasting organisations or the industry exploit a PD's naïve mindset to encourage PDs to work more without proper reward. How would you react if someone judged your working life in that manner?

A. Of course, people who cannot understand the particular enjoyment of this work could think in that way. For example, let's say there is a cup of water. We all think the water exists for us to drink. But actually we never know how the water thinks itself about the status. The viewpoints from inside and outside will surely be different. Probably ordinary people who do not know anything about this job would think being a PD is just an attractive job, and some people who make a good fortune in other occupational fields could think, 'Why do they do such a tiresome job?' But I do not judge myself or my job in such a way. It has been more than 10 years now since I started my life as a PD, and I think my choice was right for me. What I care about is how I can continue this job more happily.

Appendix 4: Typical responsibilities of a Main PD in the entertainment genre

Briefly speaking, the Main PD of an entertainment programme is in charge of the production of a single programme or series (normally, aired weekly) from idea generation through to the post-production stage. Considering this fact, an individual Main PD's role could be compared to that of a Series Producer in the US or UK television production systems. Yet, as we shall see, a Main PD also deals with the responsibilities of a Director's role (if applying the UK/US framework) as Main PDs direct the shooting and editing stages during production and post-production. Based on my interviews with current Main PDs, the typical responsibilities of a Main PD across the timeline of the programme production process are explained below.

A. Proposition of a programme

Generally, Main PDs start to generate ideas and build the concept of a new programme once they have received the broad specifications for a future programme as decided by channel strategists, production department managers, or the programme scheduling department. In most cases, managers give them a few predefined factors, such as the designated on-air day and time, filming format (studio or location), the broad concept and, occasionally, particular star cast members.

In the case of Interviewee SL, he usually requests the previous viewership rating data for the particular on-air time that he is given, which is not only calculated by the minute but also categorised by various age groups. Based on this information, he then identifies the type of programme that would be the most suitable to the given conditions. At this stage, Main PDs naturally express their own tastes and the whole concept and story of the programme reflects the Main PD's style. Having determined a certain concept for the programme, the Main PD then selects a Main Writer, who has the ability to bring the Main PD's core idea to

life. Then, the Main PD writes both a proposal and a budget plan for the proposed programme. The budget plan briefly outlines the scale of the production team as it specifies not only the number of production team members and writers (with details of their previous career and average wages), but also the cost of using certain technology teams (including lighting, camera, audio crews) and casting certain celebrities. Thus the budget planning process requires several negotiations, and most Main PDs try to obtain the biggest/highest production budget possible.

B. Pre-Production

Once the go ahead for a new programme has been determined, the Main PD develops specific elements of the programme production with the Main Writer (who has by now set up his/her writing team), and starts to prepare for the creation of a pilot programme. Based on the script for the first episode, the Main PD starts to draw up contracts with the production team (ADs and PDs), writers, technology companies, cast members, and so on. In addition to external PDs, full-time employees (either ADs or Ordinary PDs) may also be allocated by authorisation of the production department. At the same time, the Main PD discusses the CG design (computer graphic design) of the programme title, trailers, and subtitles, along with the general visual concept of the programme. Designing compelling CG concepts is one of the most important parts of the programme as use of computer graphics is substantial throughout. As indicated earlier in Chapter 3, Korean entertainment programme styles are largely influenced by Japanese entertainment shows, which have many captions. Thus, a typical Korean entertainment programme similarly has captions throughout. When the British Channel 4 entertainment programme, 'The Greatest Shows on Earth', investigated a Korean entertainment show (*Infinite Challenge*), the presenter Daisy was surprised by the quantity of captions in a single programme: "During each show, on-screen captions pop-up at every opportunity to maximise comedy titbits".

After confirming almost all contracts related to the programme, the Main PD shares the core concept of the programme with all production staff, below-the-line teams, and cast members. Meanwhile, the Main PD also checks the overall costing of production and whether it could be pre-paid. Once the on-air date is set, the Main PD confirms the production schedule and starts to prepare for the first shooting. If the programme is to be filmed on location, the Main PD and their production team will usually conduct a preliminary exploration of the location, and prepare a specific plan for filming based on a confirmed script. The Main PD should also check props, instruments, and costumes for the episode; ADs and Ordinary PDs usually prepare these, so it is the Main PD who is responsible for verifying the quality of their work.

C. Production

At the production stage, the Main PD and his/her production team do their best to actualise their initial and core concept for the programme. Normally, on the day of shooting, there are more than 50-60 people at the film site; the Main PD then leads these people by encouraging and instructing every staff and cast member. To be prepared for any unexpected events during filming, the Main PD should continuously check that every element in the production process is working smoothly, from the position of cameras and lighting instruments to the whole direction of the programme. In the PD community, there is a virtue known as the '5Cs' that a PD should follow: 'check, check, check, check, and check' (Kim, 2005). The Main PD then determines whether the filming is good enough to express the initial plan and ideas, and decides whether additional filming is needed.

D. Post-Production

After the production stage of the first episode of the programme, the Main PD begins to manage the production process in a dual mode. One is the Post-Production of the filmed episode, and the other is the pre-production of a new episode. After filming, the Main PD

usually sets up a meeting with Ordinary PDs, ADs, and Writers to evaluate the previous shooting process and to decide the direction and concept of editing.

At this stage, there is a difference between location-based programmes and studio programmes. With regard to a location programme, intensive editing is necessary due to the vast quantities of film shot. In this case, the Main PD should give clear directions to Ordinary PDs and ADs, who will actually edit the film, and several editing meetings are necessary. Based on the direction of editing, the concept of the programme could change substantially. When it comes to a studio-based programme, a basic edit of the programme is undertaken by the Main PD during filming, after which secondary editing fills any gaps and complements the initial editing completed at the site of filming; again, the entire direction of editing is set by the Main PD.

After the first edit is completed, an overall edit is processed in a control room and detailed captions are added; as such, the necessary computer graphics should have been prepared prior to this stage. Once this overall edit is completed, the edited film is handed over to the audio mixing team, and the Main PD must ensure that the audio director understands the core concept and the editing direction of the episode. When the audio work is finished, the edited tape is ready to be aired. Finally, the Main PD should check the transmission procedures and confirm whether the edited tape is truly ready. As the programme continues in its production, the Main PD could delegate some responsibilities to Ordinary PDs or ADs, but until the direction is settled, the Main PD should manage every stage. Even if the Main PD allows others to take care of a few responsibilities, he or she must break these tasks into pieces and distribute them according to the capabilities of each individual. Afterwards, the Main PD should also check whether his/her team is doing everything right.

In the meantime, and assuming the pilot has been approved as a regular programme, the

Main PD prepares the production of the next episode via a script preparation meeting with writers. He or she also obtains feedback from the technology crew and cast, integrating these insights into preparation for the next episode. Additionally, after the first programme has been aired, the Main PD checks not only viewership ratings but also audience feedback from various sources, from SNS to the bulletin board on the programme website; he or she then makes every effort to reflect the needs and opinions of the audience in subsequent episodes.

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